

THE  
Mutable and wauering e-  
state of France, from the yeare of our Lord  
1460, vntill the yeare 1595.

The great Battailles of the French Nation, as  
*well abroad with their forraigne enemies, as  
at home among themselves, in their  
civill and intestine warres:*

With an ample declaration of the seditious and tre-  
cherous practises of that viperous brood of  
Hispaniolized Leaguers.

*Collected out of sundry, both Latine, Italian, and  
French Historiographers.*

LONDON  
Printed by Thomas Creed.  
1597.

THE  
MURDER AND WANDERING

Line of France, from the year of our Lord  
1400, until the year 1792

The great Principles of the French Nation  
as they stand now, for the year 1792  
at the present time, to be  
seen, and to be known

With a complete Description of the History and the  
the present state of the Republic of  
France, and the Kingdom

Collected out of the French and English  
Prints, and the Manuscripts

LONDON  
Printed by Thomas Cade  
1792



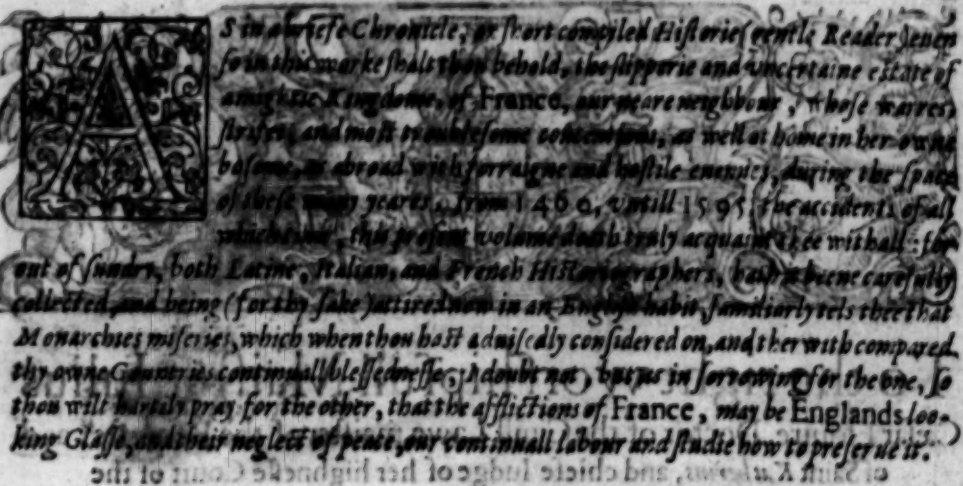


To the right worshipfull Maister Iulius  
 Caesar Esquire, Doctor of the Ciuill Lawe, maister of the Requests, and  
 of Saint Katherine, and chiefe Iudge of her highnesse Court of the  
*A Admiraltie, &c. a namelesse well-willer, wisbeth all  
 courses of happinesse that can  
 bee named.*



In, this Collected Historie, of the inconstant and  
 mutable estate of Fraunce, from the yeare 1460.  
 vntill the yeare 1595. describing the great battails  
 of the French Nation, as well abroad with for-  
 raigne enemies, as at home among themselues, in  
 their ciuill and intestine warres: also an ample de-  
 claration of the seditious and trecherous practi-  
 ses of that viperous brood of Hispaniolized Lea-  
 guers, during their bloodie mutinies and attempts from time to time,  
 with whatsoeuer else so serious a discourse can or may affoord, I offer to  
 your worshipfull and most kinde patronizing. Your euer knowne affable  
 inclination to studie, and works of woorth, makes me no way mistrustfull  
 of gentle acceptance: wherfore, in one ballance poyning the Booke, and in  
 the other whatsoeuer remaynes in mee, alwayes most readie at your  
 worships seruice, I cease from further troubling you with lines vrging no  
 delight, desiring, that as your vertues are numberlesse, so your ioyes  
 both in this worlde, and that to come, may likewise be endlesse.

*Though namelesse, yet alwayes by your  
 worship to be commaunded.*



**Fare ye well.**

It, this Collected Edition, of the inconsistent and  
incredible state of Famine, from the year 1793  
until the year 1800, describing the great perils  
of the French Nation, as well as the wide with-  
raige enemies as at home among themselves, in  
then civil and intestine wars; also an ample  
explanation of the tedious and tedious nature of



both in this worlde, and that to come may likewise be enabled.

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# THE MVTABILITIE of France.

## CHAP. I.

*Lewis sonne to Charles the seuenth, King of France, is driven out of his fathers King-  
dome. He flieth to Phillip Duke of Burgundie. Returneth. After his fathers de-  
cease is made King. He falleth out with Charles Duke of Burgundie. Is suddenly stra-  
icken with a sore disease, and dieth miserably.*



As the wauering and interchaungeable course,  
whereto euery thing whatsoeuer is continually  
subiect, hath beene alwayes heretofore daily  
obserued, in the most auncient, and renowned  
Monarchies that euer were. So hath it appea-  
red in these latter dayes, and that in a more liue-  
ly maner, in the strange and wonderfull altera-  
tions of our neighbor countryes: whose peace  
and prosperous estate, as it was the common ob-  
iect of euery mans eye: so are their vnfortunate  
warres, and wofull miseries, the usuall subiect

*Kingdomes  
and states full  
of change and  
mutabilis  
in this age.*

of all mens speech, and nothing is more lystened after, then to what ende  
matters of so great waight and importance are likeliest to tend. The most noble  
and renowned kingdome of France, which for so many yeares flowed with  
milke and honie, and for the temperatenesse of the aire, the fertilitye of the soile,  
the ciuilitie of the Commons, the loyaltie of the Nobilitie, the dignitie and  
magnificence of the Prince, was accounted the paragon of all Nations, hath  
especially tasted of this vicissitude, and change: which so long as it was at peace  
with it selfe, and not afflicted with any ciuill discension, the subiect honouring  
the King with all dutifull obedience, and the King rendering the welfare of  
the subiect with a hearty and louing affection, and both concurring in one for

## THE MVTABILITIE

the aduancement of the Common-wealth, flourished in most beautifull maner, and appeared verie pleasing to the eye of all Nations round about: but after that it once began to hourish turbulent spirits, and to harbour strange and vnnaturall humours, the Prince following the dangerous projects of yong and corrupt counsellors, who rather sought their owne priuate gaine, then the publike profite and vrilite of the state, and the people beeing easily drawne by the perswasions of their Gouvernours to embrace in a maner any noueltie that was propounded: then began the common-wealth to bee intangled in manie dangerous mischiefes, and to bee encombred with sundrie cares, wherewith for this long time it hath bene exceedingly vexed, and tormented. And albeit there hath often bin some mitigation of paine for a while: and that by the great wisdom and skill of such as fate at the stearne, and had the managing of the publike affayres, the ship, which was well neare ouerwhelmed with boisterous waues, was safely preserved from the wracke: yet, as though there were a fatall destinie, which could not be auoided, it presently againe fell vpon the shelues, and plunged it selfe a fresh into a vast Ocean of vnspeakeable miseries, wherein it hath continued floting vp and downe for these many yeares, and at this day is cometo that desperate passe, that although it be neither split vpon the sandes, nor swallowed vp of the fearefull billowes, yet doth it serue as a perfect glasse; to viewe the vnstable estate of these earthly things: and for an assured prooffe of the variable change, and continuall vicissitude in the most flourishing kingdoms and common-wealthes. Which albeit it doth euidently appeare vnto the eye of euery beholder, yet will it be farre better discerned, if wee consider the reignes of sundry French Kings, in whose times there hath fallen out most strange and admirable accidents, themselves being especiall occasions to proouea mutuall and an alternatiue course, in all things whatsoever.

*Lewis the 11.  
K. of France,  
rebelled in  
his youth  
against his  
father*

1461

*Lewis the eleuenth of that name, King of France, and sonne vnto Charles the seuenth, was in his youth (as Philip de Comins reporteth) allured by the craftie perswasions of sundrie seditious heades, to become chiefe of a rebellious faction, and to beare Armes agaynst his father, to his vnspeakeable grieve, and the imminent perill of the whole lande: but that vnnaturall warre not continuing long, and the sonne being drawne to his obedience, by the louing and wise perswasions of the King his father, all things grewe verie peaceable for a time, and the yong Prince continued in verie good grace, vntill at length by reason of newe occasions of suspition, hee was forced to auoyde the Realme, so exceedingly was the King his father incensed agaynst him: and going to Philip Duke of Burgundie, who at that present was a verie great and mightie potentate, was most honorably intertained, & furnished with all things necessarie for himselfe and his retinue: where hee remained for a long time, notwithstanding, the duke was very often & earnestly solicited to the contrary by the king his father. At the last all the stormie tempests being blowne ouer, and he vpon the decease of his father being called home to receiue the Diademe and crowne of France, he departed from the Court of Burgundie, where he had liued a stranger, and vnder the cōtrolment of others, towards his new kingdom, and naturall Countrie, which he found very peaceable, and flourishing in all wealth and prosperitie: where hee was no sooner quietly established, but that*

*Lewis the 11.  
K. of France.*



that remembering some olde iniuries, and disliking manie of his fathers most faithfull and trustie counsellors, hee remoued sundry out of their rowmes and offices, and imprisoned others, electing new into their places, to the great grieve of diuerse of his best affected subiects, & the exceeding discontentment of most of his chiefeft Nobilitie: wherupon ensued marvellous trouble to the common wealth, and vspeakeable care and vexation of mind to himselfe. For the Duke of *Brytaine*, the Duke of *Berry*, the Duke of *Nemours*, the earle of *Saint Paule*, the earle of *Arminake*, *Beaulen*, *Albret*, and manie other great Lords and states, being highlie displeased with the King, and with his gouernement, banded together against him, and calling to theyr ayde Count *Charolois*, *Conne* and heyre to *Philip Duke of Burgundie*, raysed a mightie and puyssaunt armie, wherewith they approached *Paris*, and held besieged the chiefeft Citie of the land.

*Lewis the 11. reiecteth his fathers old counsellors.*

*The Duke of Brytaine, and sundrie other of the nobilitie rise against the King.*

The King vnderstanding the daunger wherein the towne stood, and the resolution of his enemies, hastid by all possible meanes to put himselfe within *Paris*, the safekeeping whereof would be most auayleable for the aduancement of his other affayres. Wherefore hauing gathered a strong power, marched forwardes on his intended voyage, not purposing to hazarde his fortune vpon anie aduantage that shoulde be offered, but onelie to defende himselfe, and to amuse his enemies; vntill the tyme might minister some better meanes to accomplish his desyres: notwithstanding, through the rash headinesse of the Lieutenant of *Normandie* called *Le Bressy*, who had the leading of the auantgarde, the King was constrained to fight, and to aduventure to open his passage by force of armes. But being valiantly resisted by his enemies, after a terrible and bloodie fight, hee was forced to forsake the field, and to retyre towards *Corbeile*, leauing the entyre glorie of that victorie, to Count *Charolois*, and his associates.

*The King marcheth toward Paris.*

*The King forced to forsake the field.*

As this good fortune puffed vp the haughtie minde of the Conquerour, making him proude, disdainfull, and highly conceyted of his owne valour, which in the ende bred his owne confusion and ouerthrowe: so did it teach the conquered to pull downe his spirits, and with all circumspect diligence and care, to provide for his future safetie, in the most politike manner that hee might: and hauing (though with much adoo) made peace with Count *Charolois*, anemie that hee greatly feared, and reconciled his discontented Nobles, who were a long time as prickles in his eyes, and thornes in his sydes, and withall concluded a league with *Edward the fourth King of Englande*, at *Pikquennie*, to his great aduantage, there remayned nothing that might any way endaunger his estate, but onelie the greatnesse of *Charles Duke of Burgundie*, who though he were at amitie with the King, yet for that hee had a most turbulent spirite, and of all other could least abide to continue for anie long time together in peace, the King thought hee had iust occasion to suspect him, and therefore howsoeuer in outward shewe he made much of him, yet in heart hee wished for nothing more then his confusion and ouerthrowe: which appeared most apparantly by his secrete practises against the Duke, and then coule no longer be hidde, when as hee heard of his discomfiture at the battaile of *Nancy*, where the sayde Duke was slaine,

*The King reconcileth his subiects, and maketh peace with Count Charolois.*

*Charles D. of Burgundy slaine at Nancy.*

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his armie put to flight, and the glorie of that noble house of *Burgundie*, which had flourished for the space of an hundred and twentie yeares, in all pompe and magnificence, was utterly defaced and obscured. For presently vpon the newes, the King was so exceeding ioyfull, that hee did not in a maner regarde how richly and bountifullly he rewarded the Messengers of so glad and ioyfull tydings. Nowe beganne hee to studie for nothing so much as howe to dismember this poore afflicted Dukedome, and by all meanes possible to teare and rent it in peeces.

*K. Lewis of France gets into a great part of Burgundie.*

He first gayned by liberall rewardes, and fayre promises, the chiefeft of the Burgonian Nobilitie, and likewise the Captaines of sundrie strong Townes, by which meanes hee gate *Abbeville*, *Peronne*, *Arras*, *Heslin*, *Bellogne*, *Dyon*, and manie other principall places, so that it seemed that the better part of the Dukedome of *Burgundie* was nowe brought vnder the kings obedience, and annexed to the rest of the Dominions of the *Flower de Lis*. By which meanes the reuenues of the Crowne were greatly augmented, the lande exceedingly strengthened, the fame and honour of the king wonderfully encreased, all thinges falling out in a manner as well as might be wished or desired.

*The King stricken with a sudden disease.*

But hee had no sooner attayned to so high a degree of happinesse, but hee was presently crossed with newe miseries and afflictions, which in small continuance of tyme did wholie bereaue him of his former ioyes. For bee- ing at dinner at a Village neare vnto *Ghynon*, hee was suddainlie stricken with so vehement a payne, that hee lost his speach and senses, for the space of two dayes together, not remembring nor knowing any that were nearest about him. And albeit, by reason of those great meanes, which were vsed, his bodie was somewhat recouered, and his mynde much bettered, so that he seemed to come to some reasonable vnderstanding and knowledge: yet was hee so weakened, and euerie parte of him so mightilie decayed, that it was not possible to free him of his maladie so long as hee lyued. Besides, hee grew so suspicious of all sortes, and so iealous of his owne sonne, and sonne in Lawe, that hee was neuer at quyet, but lyued in such continuall feare, least that honour and reuerence which had beene for so long a tyme giuen vnto him, shoulde now beanie wayes diminished; or his former authoritie impayred, that for the maintenaunce thereof hee vexed himselfe in most straunge and pittifull sort. Hee woulde not at anie time come abroade, nor bee scene but of some fewe, in whome hee reposed a speciall confidence.

*The miserie of Lewis the II.*

His Court Gates were continuallie guarded, yea, his verie Chamber Doore so surelie watched, as that it was impossible to keepe a prisoner in more straye manner, then hee kept his owne selfe. And bee- ing a king, that in former tymes had taken his delight in so manie rich, beautifull, and flourishing Citiees, and solaced himselfe in so manie stately Pallaces, and pleasurefull Gardeynes, was nowe (to his vnspeakeable torment) confined in a narrowe rowme, sequestering himselfe from all companie, and euerie other thing, which might breede his delight, or encrease his comfort:

and



## OF FRANCE.

and so continued in this miserable estate, alwaies languishing in feare, vntill his death, which was in the yeere 1483. and hauing raigned two and twentie yeeres, left behinde him a sonne, who succeeded in the kingdome, in whose dayes fell out many strange and admirable occurrences, as shall appeare in the Chapter following.

*The death  
of Lewis the  
eleventh  
King of  
France.*

### CHAP. II.

*Charles the eight innadeth Italy, and conquereth Naples. Alphonsus and Ferdinando flie into Sicilia: the Venetians and other Princes leuying a great power, drive the French out of Italy. The battell of Tarro. The French king dieth suddenly.*



Albeit that Lewis the eleventh not long before his death, had oftentimes, and that very seriously, aduised his sonne Charles, who was to succeed him in the kingdome, to maintain peace and amitie with all his neighbours rounde about, and by no meanes to enter into warres with any forraigne Princes, before hee were growne to ripe yeeres, and that the Realme which had endured so many calamities and miseries, wherewith it was greatly impouerished, should be growne rich againe, and better provided to resist any violence that should be offered: yet could not the graue and strong perswasions of so wise and well experienced a Prince, take such deepe rooting in the heart of this yong King, but that thorow his owne ambitious desire to make himselfe great, and the manifold reasons alleaged by sundrie of his aduisants, partly to flatter him in his owne honour, but more especially to serue theyr owne turne, they were quickly plucked vppe againe, and hee fully resolved to enter into a warre, which of all other was thought most daungerous, and which wrought as straunge effectes, as much varietie, and as singular alterations and chaunges, as any other whatsoeuer. All which to the ende they may bee the better vnderstood, it shall bee verie conuenient to rippe vp the matter from the beginning, and in as fewe words as may bee, to shewe the originall of so great trouble, as afterwarde ensued.

*Charles the  
eight succee-  
ded his fa-  
ther Lewis  
in the king-  
dome of  
France.*

Charles the eight King of France pretending a title to the Kingdome of Naples, as heire to Reynard Duke of Anjou, was no sooner settled in his kingdome, but he was forthwith enduced by the colourable perswasions of Lewis Sforzia, who had not long before vsurped the Dukedome of Milan, to put in his claime, and with might and mayne to assay to gette so noble, so rich and renowned a Diademe. Notwithstanding, for that it was a matter of no small importaunce, it was thought good to haue it thorowly debated in Councell, and to heare the opinions of the wisest and the best

*Lewis Sfor-  
zia Duke  
of Milan, per-  
suadeth  
Charles the  
eight to  
conquer  
Naples.*

experi-

THE MUTABILITIE

experienced in the lande, who when they had with great maturitie of iudgement pondered euery circumstance: as the danger the king was likely to thrust himselfe into, the infinite treasure that must bee expended: as also what a multitude of valiant mens liues that would cost, before so glorious a victorie could be achieved, and the difficultie that would be in keeping that being once gotten: they wholly resolved that it was an enterprize in no wise to be attempted. Notwithstanding, the king who was yong, & desirous to eternise his name by some memorable attempt, could in no wise be diuerted, being moued as it were by some diuine instinct, and encouraged by sundrie remonstrances of two of his principall fauorites, called *Vere* and *Brissonet*, both which were but meane politicks, and of all other most ignorant in militarie affaires. These two were daily solliciters of the king, who otherwise was but too willing of himselfe, to provide all necessaries for his intended voyage, and to set forward with as much celeritie as possibly might be.

*The Kings  
Councell dis-  
suadeth the  
King from  
the conquest  
of Naples.*

*Vere and  
Brissonet en-  
cite the king  
to enter Italy*

The yonger sort of the French Nobilitie, and such as had least experience, were likewise exceeding desirous to enter *Italy* by force of Armes, and to shew their valour and noble courage to forraigne Nations. All things seemed to concurre for the furtherance of this happy attempt: save that which was most necessarie, and that was, wise and wel experienced Captaines, and store of siluer and gold, which are accounted as the veines and sinewes of the warres. There were men enough, but such as were most fitte were most vnwilling: the Kings Coffers were emptie, and nothing could bee borrowed but vpon great interest and good assurance. Thus the lets were many, and the meanes to effect any thing with honour, very small: and in the end, if the successe were such as was desired, yet should there be nothing gotten, (as *Lewis* the eleuenth was wont to say) but infinite trouble and imminent perill, and that with the effusion of much French blood.

*The King  
resolued to  
go to Naples  
contrarie to  
the opinion of  
his counsell.*

The King resolving to passe into *Italy* notwithstanding whatsoeuer could be alleged to the contrarie, made a league with *Ferdinando* King of *Spaine*, with *Maximilian* king of the Romanes, and with *Phillip* Archduke of *Austria*, and Duke of *Flanders*, as also with the King of *England*, least being occupied in his warres abroad, he might happen to be molested at home by some forraigne enemy: and deferring his iourney vntill the spring following, which should be in the yeere 1493. in the meane while commanded that all things should be in a readinesse, which were requisite for the maintenance of his Armie. All men of vnderstanding wondered at this strange resolution of the King, and the best affected towards the Crowne of *France* did mutuailously feare the sequel of so dangerous a iourney.

*The D. of  
Milan com-  
meth to As-  
to the French  
King.*

The more to encourage the King, and to stirre him vpto prosecute his intended voyage, *Lewis Sfortia*, who vsurped the Dukedome of *Milan* (as is already sayde) and had beene the first motioner of this warre, did not onely promise vnto the King all the ayde and furtherance that might be, by his embassadours, but also came himselfe with the Duchesse his wife, very nobly accompanied vnto the King, being at *As*: where, after some debating of the matter, and clearing of sundrie doubts, the king resolved to passe forward, and so came to *Pavia*, without any let or interruption: from thence he went towards *Sarzana*, being a very strong



strong Castle, and belonging to the *Florentines*, which in the ende was taken and kept by the French. The Citizens of *Florence* being not a little amazed at the Kings prosperous successe, thought it best to offer him all the fauour and kinnesse that might be, humbly desiring him to come and repole himselfe in their Citie, and to refresh his Armie in the rest of their territories, as *Pisa*, *Lygonmia*, *Petrasanta*, and *Librasanta*. Thus had the French gotten the whole state of the *Florentines* into their possession: this bred a maruailous change in *Italy*, and sundrie Citties being wearie of their gouernours, rebelled and chose them new Lords. The *Florentines* themselues considering that the French were growen strong, became their vassalles, and conspiring against their Duke, called *Peter de Medices*, droue him out of the City, & tooke what soeuer he had, and reserued it for their owne vses. The poore distressed Duke fled to *Venice*, in very miserable estate, where he had much adoo before he could be receiued. Thus was the house of the *Medices* ouerthrown, which had flourished in great wealth, power, and authoritie, for the space of 60. yeares: the King departing from *Florence* came to *Sennes*, and so to *Viterbium*, and from thence to the Castle of *Brachana*.

Although that *Alphonfus* King of *Naples*, was at the first but little moued with the comming of the French, yet to preuent the worst, hee had prouided two great and puissant armies: that by sea was lead by his brother *Frederik*: and the other by land, by his sonne *Ferdinando*, with whom were these famous and renowned Captaines, *Virgilius Vrsinus*, *Petilian*, and the Lord of *Trenoule*. *Ferdinando* was gotten into *Rome*, and hoped to keepe the Citie against the French King, but the Pope being willing to follow the good fortune of the Conquerour, suffered him to enter: whereupon *Ferdinando* was forced to flie away in the night, and with al possible speede to retire towards *Naples*.

His father *Alphonfus* beeing wonderfully terrified with this heauie newes, and remembring the manifold iniuries offered to the Neapolitans, both by his father and himselfe, though hee had beene a very valiant, couragious, and hardy Prince, yet hee thought it best to yeeld to the time, and giuing ouer the kingdome into his sonnes hand, with a heauie heart and mournful cheere, sayd led into *Cicilia*, with the Queene his mother in law, who was daughter to *Ferdinando* king of *Castile*. Before his departure he was continually tormented with fundrie imaginations, often crying out that the King of *France* was comming, and that the very houses, trees, and stones in the streets were all become French: and so with a passionate minde forooke *Naples*: where by the way wee may obserue one thing, which *Phillip de Comins* noteth as a strange accident, and that is, that in lesse then two yeeres space there were fise kings of *Naples*, which were *Ferdinando* the father of *Alphonfus*, *Alphonfus*, *Ferdinando* his sonne, *Charles* the eighth, king of *Fraunce*, and *Frederik* the brother of the saide *Alphonfus*.

The yong King *Ferdinando* made great preparation to withstand the French, and hauing gathered a strong power, encamped at *Saint Germain*, in the frontiers of his territories, resolving to stop the passage of the enemy at that place. Notwithstanding, the French king marched on with great courage, taking Castles and townes without any resistance: all things seemed to yeeld voluntarily vnto him, and to bende at his becke: yea, *Ferdinando* himselfe durst not abide him, though he were strongly fortified and encamped in a place of great aduantage:

For

*Ferdinando  
K. of Na-  
ples, flieth  
from the  
French.*

*Naples yeeld  
deth to the  
French king.*

*The speedy  
conquest of  
the French  
King.*

*Charles of  
France  
crowned King  
of Naples.*

*The pride of  
the French.*

*Sundry great  
princes con-  
spire against  
the French.*

For as soone as he vnderstood by his espyals, that the French were within two leagues, he fled in very disordered manner towards *Capua*, suffering the French King to enter at his pleasure, and from thence hasted to *Naples*, fearing a reuolt among the Citizens, which indeede immediatly ensued vppon the approach of the French: who comming to *Capua*, entred presently vppon composition, and before they came at *Naples* by three leagues, the Citizens sent Embassadors to treat with them, being willing to receiue them vpon condition, that they should maintaine their ancient priuiledges: which so terrified *Ferdinando*, that he presently tooke sea, and fled to his father in *Civita*. Then was there a generall reuolt, and euerie one made court to the French king, who was received with great acclamation and applause of the people: yea, those who were in particular most bounden vnto the house of *Arragon*, and such as had bene their especiall favourites, were now in an instant wholly turned French: All *Calabria*, *Pouilla*, *Laurentia*, *Turpia*, *Encrènes*, *Tarentum*, & *Monopolis*, set vp the *Flower delis*. Thus did this yong King runne as it were through *Italy*, without any stop or hinderance, neuer staying about the winning of any one towne the space of one day, insomuch as from his departure from *Ast*, vntill his entrie into *Naples*, there were but foure moneths and nineteene dayes: so that hee might say in regarde of his speedy conquest, as *Cæsar* sometime saide, *Veni, Vidi, Vici*.

The French King beeing entred into *Naples*, disposed of all things at his pleasure, and seemed nowe to haue attained to his wished ende: there was nothing to crosse him, or to stand in his way, but like a conquerour hee commanded and it was obeyed: wherupon he would needs be crowned King. Which being perfourmed, and the French not standing any longer in feare of any enemy, they began to bee idle and carelesse, and gaue themselves wholly to riot and excesse: They seemed to contemne all others, and scorned the Italians as men of no reckoning, supposing that now they were able to passe through the whole world, and that no man durst abide them. So proude, arrogant, and disdainfull were they become, by reason of this so prosperous and happie successe.

When as the King of *France* was growen to this greatnesse, that hee had in a manner all the estate of *Italy* at his commaund: that hee had gotten the Kingdome of *Naples*, and was quietly possessed thereof, and thereby was climed to the top of fortunes wheele, so that it seemed that nothing was wanting, to the full accomplishment of all his desired happinesse: when as indeed he was most secure and carelesse, and supposed that hee stood without the reach of any misfortune: presently the wheele began to turne about, and sundry secret practises were set abroch, to cut short the French proceedings: & in the end a league was concluded, which darkened the faire shining of the *Flower delis*, to proue the variable and vncertaine estate of all things whatsoever.

Although *Alphonfus* were driuen out of *Italy*, yet did hee continually fight against the French, by procuring as many enemies against him as possibly hee might: hee daily layde before the eyes of other Princes, howe perilous a matter it would bee for them to suffer the King of *France* to grow so great, and sought especially to stirre the Venetians against him. The Turke on the other side threatened them at the request of the Pope, if they would not declare them



themselves open enemies vnto him. The King of *Spain* began to feare the losse of *Sardinia*, and *Cicilia*, and the Emperor grew iealous of his Emphyre. All these Princes sent their Ambassadors to *Venice*, and in the end banded, with one consent agaynst the French, who being aduertised hereof, began to bethinke them, how they might returne into *France*. And resoluing presently to retyre from *Naples*, set all things in as good order as might bee, and so dislodged, purposing to returne by the same way that they came. Sundrie Cities and good Townes vnderstanding of the league, began to reuolt forthwith, and to pull downe the Armes of *Fraunce*, which not long before they had so hastily set vp, and to place those of *Aragon* in their stead. Thus began fortune to frowne, and to looke another way, and to abandon the French on all sides.

The King of France beth to get out of Italy. Sundrie cities reuel against the French.

The King being as desirous now to get to *Paris*, as hee was before to conquer *Naples*, marched toward *Rome* with some nine hundred men at armes, and eight or nine thousand footmen, Switzers, Almaines, and French. But the Pope hearing of his coming fled to *Padoue*, so that he entred without any resistance: but he staid not long there, for intending to make at the last that might be, he remoued to *Sennet*, and from thence to *Pisa*, still passing forward though verie slowly, by reason of the euil waies. By this time had the Venetians gathered a strong power, wherwith they went to stop his passage. And hauing appointed *Francis Gonzaga* Marques of *Mantoua* for their generall, with whom they ioyned two Venetian Lieutenants, or *Priniditors*, *Melchior Creuisano*, and *Luke Pisano*, commaunded them to put themselves betweene home and the French, and if it were possible to stay the King, and force him to pay the Almedate for the harme he had done to the Italian Nation.

1495

The Pope fleeth from Rome.

The Marques of Mantoua, generall of the Venetian forces.

*Gonzaga* being a lusty yong Gentleman, & desirous to win renowne, by some memorable act, hauing intelligence by his espials, that the French marched toward *Fore Noue*, sent his light horsemen before vnder the conduct of *Nicholas Annonio*, a Scattonian, to stay the enemy with light skirmishes, vntill he might ouertake them with the strength of his armie: who readily accomplishing the commandement of the generall, hasted forward with great speed, & taking the French auantgard at aduantage, slue many of them, and forced the rest to retire to their strength. The king ouertaking his vanguard, encamped at *Fore Noue*, hard by the river of *Terra*. The marques was encamped on the other side, right in the way that the French men should passe: so that the King seeing there was no remedie, but that he must needes fight, and open the way by the dint of the sword, disposed of his army in as warlike maner as he could, and resolved as that day to try the vitermost of his fortune. And being mounted vpon a braue and lusty courser enuironed with 7. yong gentlemen of approued fidelity & prowes, armed in all points like vnto himself, rode about his ranks to encourage his soldiers, who with their cheerful countenances seemed to assure him of the victorie, and with the hazard of their owne liues, to defend him from the violence of his enemies. The Bastard of *Burbon* in whom he reposed a speciall trust, with *Robinet Framessell*, the valiaunt conductour of the Duke of *Orleance* his men at Armes, enuironed him with their companyes of horsemen on both sydes. The Rereward was ledde by *Faix*, a Noble man of *Guien*, and *Seigneur de Trimonille*, and with them was there a great troupe of men at Armes.

The battell of Terra.

The order of the French armie.

## THE MVTABILITIE

10  
the Switzers and Almaines, in whom consisted the strength of the battaile, gathered the Ordinance, which being drawne with equall pace close to the battailon of the foot men, was placed right in the front of the enemy. The Marechal *Guy*, and *Tribulzi* a man of great fame and experience in the warres, marched before with certaine light horsemen, to lead the way to them which followed.

The Marques seeing the French come downe from *Foro Nuovo*, in aray of the order of battaile, quickly arraunged his men, and diuiding them into nine battaillons, as well for the mutuall succour each of other, as thereby to assaile the French on all sides, and intended to abide the comming of his enemies. In the first battaile was *Petro Dado*, a Venetian, with sixe hundred Greeke horsemen, and almost as many Archers on horsebacke, who were appointed to compasse the hills, and to assaile the enemy on the backe. The second battaile was led by the earle *Giazza*, consisting of sixe hundred men of Armes, and three thousand Almaine and Italian footemen. The Generall himselfe with his Vncle *Radulph* and *Ranacio Farnesi*, with five hundred men of Armes, and as many Archers, with foure thousand footemen, tooke vpon him to encounter with the middle battaile, wherein was the Kings owne person. The fourth battaile was assigned to *Fortebraccio de Montoni*, who was commaunded to charge the Rereward. Three other battailes were appoynted to *Antonie de Feltri*, *Annibal Bentiuoli*, and *Galeazzo Palaucini*, which should serue to ayde and succour where there was most need. The eight and ninth battaile were likewise prouided against all vncertaine chances which might ensue.

The hardie encounter of both armies, Each armie being thus readie raunged, awayred the signall of the battaile: which was no sooner ginen, but they ranne together with great furie, the trumpets sounded, the drummes stroke vp, the great Ordinance thundered from either side, and all sorts fought verie couragiously. But the *Estradiots*, who had beene repelled by the French men of armes, espying the Kings baggage (which by counsaile of *Triualzio* had beene obiected to the enemy, to the ende that hee being busie about the spoyle, a more readie and easie passage might be opened for the King) flung out of their ranks, and fell to ryfling in most greedie manner. Which thing (in the opinion of all men) turned to the great good of the French: who otherwise had beene in maruailous danger to haue beene ouerthrowne at that encounter. The Marques fought valiauntly, and peareing through the middelt of the horsemen hard to the Ordinance, ouerthrew a great bande of Gascons, which were appointed to guard them. The French being encouraged with the presence of their king, laide about them like men, and the Switzers beeing promised double pay, like Tygres, rare and rent in peeces as manie as fell into theyr hands. And had not the earle of *Petilia* at that present escaped from the French, and by comming to the flying Italians, with all the forceable reasons hee coulede, perswaded them to renew the fight, the whole power of the Venetians had beene vterly ouerthrowne.

Both The French armyes being well wearied with a long and bloody fight, they sounded the *Kilofish* all retreat. The French had lost all their baggage, and the riches of *Naples*, which his baggage, was going into France, was taken by the Italian souldiours: a great number of their brauest men were slaine, and amongst others the bastarde of *Burbon*, a man of surpassing great valour. The King himselfe hauing likewise lost



all his plate and household stuffe, was in extreme peril, and had vndoubtedly bin taken, had it not bene for the excellencie of his horse, which was a cole black, with one eye. And although he gate the victorie, and remained maister of the field, yet were his losses verie great, and farre surmounted the gaine he had gotten in that long and wearie voyage. He was constrained to lie the night following in a simple cottage, and all his great Lords were lodged round about him in the open fields, who had nothing to eate, nor any chaunge of apparell to put on: So that they resolved to dislodge in the dead of the night, and with al speed to recouer *Aff*. The Armie was sore afrighted, and every man coueted to bee in the Vauntgard, supposing thereby to be furthest from daunger, and nearest vnto places of safest retreat. And thus marching forward in tumultuous maner, with much ado got to *Aff*, where they staid not long, but went to *Thurin*, and so to *Lions*.

*The distresse  
of the French  
King.*

*The French  
run out of  
Italie.*

1496

*The great  
alteration in  
Italie.*

The king was no sooner in *France*, but all things went backward in *Italie*, all places reuolted, and well was he that could first teare in peeces the *Flower de Lis*. Whosoever had bene friends before, now became enemies, and nothing was so hastily gayned, but it was as speedily lost. And the French Nation, who not long before had bene the terror of the Turke, the Pope, the Emperor, the Venetians, and in a maner of al *Europe*, were now in nothing more famous, then in their dishonourable flight out of *Italie*, leauing vnto posteritie a notable example of the chaunge and mutabilitie of these worldly affayres. And as it vsually falleth out, if fortune begin onceto chaunge, it neuer ceaseth vntill it haue throwne a man groueling to the ground: so it fared with this king, who began to decline a pace, and to be crossed euerie day more then other. His yong sonne the Duke of *Orleance*, began to be desperately sicke, and so continued languishing, vntill at last he died, wherewith his father was immeasurably greeued, and from that time forwards nothing thrived that he tooke in hand: his friends forsooke him, and his enemies dayly encreased, and almost all matters stood in verie bad tearmes. Euill newes was brought from euery corner, and the worst of all other was this: death suddenly sendeth forth a messenger to summon him to appeare before him, and to giue an account of his stewardship. For as he was in a Gallerie at *Ambois*, looking vpon such as played at tennis, hee was suddenly stricken with an Apoplexie, and liued not past some fiue or sixe houres after, but yeilded vp the ghost, 1497. hauing reigned fourteene yeares. And albeit he were a very mightie Prince, and had exceeding many goodly Castels, beautifull houses, and stately Pallaces, and had conquered so many earledomes, Marquesats, Dukedoms, and Kingdomes: had made all *Italie* to stoope, and bend at his becke, had triumphed at *Naples*, and atchieued so glorious a conquest, and that so easily, yea, & almost without drawing of his sword, so that hee was now become one of the most redoubted worthies of the world, yet did hee end his dayes on the sudden, and died in a verie miserable and beggerly place: which sheweth the lamentable estate of all sorts, and that the most mightie Potentares, are subiect to a maruellous chaunge and alteration.

*The death of  
the yong D.  
of Orleance.*

*The sudden  
death of  
Charles the  
8. King of  
France.*

1497

## CHAP. III.

*Lewis the 12. King of France, entrench Italy, conquereth Millan, taketh the Duke there of prisoner. He ioyneth with the Spanish King to conquer Naples, who expelleth him, and keepeth the kin-dome for himselfe. The battaile of Rauenna. The Switzers drive the French out of Millan. The death of King Lewis.*

*Lewis D. of  
Orleanes, K.  
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After the decease of *Charles*, *Lewis Duke of Orleanes*, and next heire to the Crowne, succeeded in the kingdome, who entituled himselfe king of *Ierusalem*, *Naples*, and *Cisal*, and Duke of *Millan*, intending to conquer the Dukedome, and for that purpose provided all things necessarie, with all the speed that might be. But by reason of the former kings expenses, he found small store of treasure: so that for to furnish himselfe, he set to sale all the offices of *France*, except such as were iudiciall: a dangerous practice, and none of the least occasion, of that great confusion, which afterwardes ensued.

*Lewis D. of  
Millan for-  
sake the  
French king*

*Lewis Duke of Millan* feared the *Venetians* more then the *French*, and therefore ioyned with the *Florentines*, to recouer *Pisa*. But hee erred exceedingly herein: for *Lewis of Fraunce* having made peace with other Princes, bent all his forces agaynst *Millan*, with whom also the *Venetians* ioyned in the ende. Whereat the Duke was maruellously astonished; and began to fortifie his owne territories, so strongly as hee might. But hee putting those in trust, who were in most fauour, and not such as had the greatest vertue, and fidelitie, (too common a fault among great estates) lost one thing after another, and in a short space all things going backwarde, hee was forced to forsake *Millan*, and flie to the castell, by reason the Citie was yeilded to the French. Which ioyfull newes beeing brought vnto the King, who was then at *Lions*, hee determined forthwith to passe in person ouer the Alps: and being in *Italy*, compounded with all the chiefe estates there, and did in a maner whatsoeuer he listed.

*Millan yeelds  
deth to the  
French.*

*The French  
K. goes to  
Millan.*

The King hauing remained a while in the Duchie of *Millan*, and taken such order for his affayres there, as he liked best, returned home, leauing the Cardinall of *Ambois* for his Lieutenant in those quarters. But he was no sooner departed, but the Citie began to reuolt, and tooke part with their olde Duke. Howbeit the Switzers, in whom he reposed especiall confidence, and by whose valour, hee verily perswaded himselfe, hee shoulde be able to maintaine his quarrell agaynst his enemyes, betrayed him to the French, who sent him prisoner to the King at *Lions*. Then there was a marvellous concourse of people assembled to beholde this captiue Duke, who not long before in fame, dignitie, and renowme, had beene equall to anie Prince in *Italie*: The King woulde not vouchsafe to see him, but sent him to prison vnto the Castell of *Loces*, where hee continued for the space of tenne yeares, and therein verie miserable manner ended his life. And thus was this Noble Duke another argument of the mutabilitie and chaunge of frowarde fortune.

*The D. of  
Millan taken  
prisoner.*

*The miser-  
able end of the  
D. of Mil-  
lan.*

Now



Now was the French King wholly set vpon the conquest of Naples: and least hee might any wayes be hindered, he thought it conuenient to procure *Ferdinando King of Spaine* to ioyne with him; who was easily drawne there-  
 to, and the better to countenance the matter, pretended a title whereby hee would proue himselfe rightfull heire to the *Neapolitan Crowne*. *Ferdinando King of Spaine* being wonderfully dismayed heere with, yielded vpon composition to the King of France, and so his Kingdome was diuided betwene the French and Spanish Kings, which two Princes could not long agree, but falling at dissension betwene themselves, there were manie starpe bickerings, the French still going by the worst. *Monsieur de La Palisse*, and diuise others were taken prisoners, and *Monsieur de Nemours* was slaine by the Spaniards, vnder the leading of the great *Consul*, who, albeit there were a treatie of peace, and an abstinence of warre concluded, yet would hee take no knowledge thereof, but proceeded still in the warres, and so brought the whole Kingdome of Naples vnder the Spanish yoke. *The Spaniards drive the French out of Naples.*  
*Leuis of France* hearing of all this, was not a little greeued in his minde, but there was no remedie but patience, nor any wayes to doo any good, but by force. Wherevpon he sent new armies into *Italie*, with a purpose to repayre his former losses: but a composition was made, and all the warre beganne to be diuerted towarde the *Venetians*, who were brought to manie yelous great extremities. But by reason the Pope beganne to growe ialous of his owne, hee forooke the French, and ioynd with the *Venetians*, taking them into his protection. Wherevpon the French king thought it best to desist from any further proceedings: and so entring league with the Pope, returned hom. *The Pope taketh the Venetians into his protection.* Notwithstanding hee quickly smelling out the fetches of his late reconciled enemy, ioynd againe with the Emperour, and sendeth *Monsieur de Chaumont* into *Italie*, with a strong power: who with the Prince of *Holland* ouerthrew the *Venetians*, and tooke *Legnago*, *Mantua*, *Silice*, and manie other places. Not long after, by reason of the death of *Monsieur de Chaumont*, *Gaston de Foix*, a valiaunt young Gentleman, was sent into *Italie* to bee General ouer the French forces: who hauing intelligence that the power of the Spaniards was coming downe to succour *Marke Antonie de Colonna*, whom hee besieged in *Ravenna*, fearing the irruption of those within the Towne, brake vp his siege, and withdrew his forces three miles of, towards the riuie of his enemies, with whom for that hee intended to fight, he marshalled the troupes as followeth.  
 The vanguard wherein was seven hundred men of armes, besides the *maines* footmen, was led by the Duke of *Ferrara*, and the Seneschal of *Normandy*. Neere vnto them were arrayed the footmen of the middle battaile, which amounted to the number of eight thousande French, vnder the conduct of *Monsieur de Allegres*. The Rearward was composed of five hundred *Italians*, ouer whom commanded *Frederick de Bosapla*. This battailon was flanked both by the archers on horsebacke, and by the light horsemen, being in all three thousand. Behind al these squadrons, which were so placed as they rather resembled a crosant, or new Moone then any thing else, were six hundred men of armes,

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 King of Naples, being wonderfully dismayed heere with, yeelded vpon composition to the King of France, and so his Kingdome was diuided be-  
 tweene the French and Spanish Kings, which two Princes could not long agree, but falling at dissension betweene themselves, there were manie  
 starpe bickerings, the French still going by the worst. *Monsieur de La Palisse*, and diuerse others were taken prisoners, and *Monsieur de Nemours* was  
 slaine by the Spaniards, vnder the leading of the great *Consul*, who, albeir there were a treatie of peace, and abstinence of warre concluded, yet  
 would hee take no knowledge thereof, but proceeded still in the warres, and so brought the whole Kingdome of Naples vnder the Spanish  
 yoke. *Le Roy of France* hearing of all this, was not a litle greeued in his minde, but there was no remedie but patience, nor any wayes to doo any good, but  
 by force. Wherevpon he sent new armies into *Italie*, with a purpose to re-  
 payre his former losses: but a composition was made, and all the warre be-  
 ganne to bee diuerted towards the *Venetians*, who were brought to mar-  
 ueylous great extremities. But by reason the Pope beganne to growe ie-  
 lous of his owne, hee forooke the French, and ioynd with the *Venetians*,  
 taking them into his protection. Wherevpon the French king thought it best  
 to desist from any further proceedings: and so entring league with the Pope,  
 returned hom. Notwithstanding hee quickly smelling out the fetches of his  
 late reconciled enemy, ioynd againe with the Emperour, and sendeth *Mon-*  
*sieur de Chaumont* into *Italie*, with a strong power: who with the Prince of *He-*  
*nault* ouerthrew the *Venetians*, and tooke *Lodigiane*, *Muntisilice*, and manie o-  
 ther places. Not long after, by reason of the death of *Monsieur de Chaumont*,  
*Gaston de Foix*, a valiaunt young Gentleman, was sent into *Italie* to bee Gene-  
 rall ouer the French forces: who hauing intelligence that the power of the  
 Spaniards was comming downe to succour *Marke Antoine de Colonna*, whom  
 hee besieged in *Rauenna*, fearing the irruption of those within the Towne,  
 brake vp his siege, and withdrew his forces three miles of, towards the ar-  
 mie of his enemies, with whom for that hee intended to fight, he marshalled  
 the troupes as followeth.  
 The vanguard wherein was seuen hundred men of armes, besides the *Al-*  
*maines* footmen, was led by the Duke of *Ferrara*, and the Senechal of *Normandie*.  
 Neere vnto them were arraunged the footmen of the middle battaile, which  
 amounted to the number of eight thousande French, vnder the conduct of  
*Monsieur de Alençes*. The Rearward was composed of five hundred *Italians*, o-  
 uer whom commaunded *Frederick de Boscolo*. This battailon was flanked both  
 by the archers on horsebacke, and by the light horsemen, being in all three thou-  
 sand. Behind all these esquadrons, which were so placed as they rather resembled  
 a crosant, or new Moone then any thing else, were six hundred men of armes,

The French  
and Spanish  
Kings ioyne  
for the con-  
quest of  
Naples.

The Spani-  
ards drive  
the French  
out of Na-  
ples.

The Pope is  
iellous of the  
French  
protection

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## THE MVTABILITIE

led by *Seigneur de la Palice*, and Cardinall *Sauuerrina*. *Monsieur de Foix* had made choyce of no peculiar charge for himselfe; but taking out some thurte of the valiantest Gentlemen, purposed to haue an eyre to euery place, and to be ready to helpe, where most neede was. In this warlike maner he marched towardes his enemies, whom he found strongly encamped by a Riuer side, who being certified of the approach of the French, had thus raunged their battailes. In the vanguard were eight hundred men of Armes, and fixe thousand footmen, vnder the leading of *Fabrizio Colonna*, high Constable of Naples. In the middle battaile were fixe hundred men of Armes, flanked with foure thousand footmen, whose principall leader was the Viceroy himselfe, and with him were the Marques of *Palude*, and the Popes Legate, called *John de Arden*. The Rearward was conducted by *Carnall*, a Spaniard. In which battaile were foure hundred men of Armes, and foure thousand footmen. The light horsemen commanded by *Danalo*, the Marques of *Pescara* (a very young man, but of passing great hope) who guarded the right side of the footmen. *Peter de Navarra* the General of the Spanish footmen would not tie himselfe to any certaine place, but determined to helpe where most neede required. And in this order they expected the coming of their enemyes, who by this time were aduanced verie neare, and the skirmish began to grow more on both sides. The fight continued long, and many were slaine: but the Spanish troupes being maruailously tyme, and scattered with the French Ordinance, could not endure before the men of Armes of France. For *Fabrizio de Colonna* being taken by the Souldiours of the Duke of *Ferrara*, the Viceroy, and Cardinall neuer staid any further tryall of theyr fortune, but fled apace, leauing the Marques of *Pescara*, and the Marques of *Palude*, at the merce of their enemies. Although the horsemen were ouerthrowne, yet the Spanish footmen fought valiantly, and with incredible fiercenesse maintained the battaile for a long time: but being wearied in the ende, and not able any longer to endure, they began to giue ground, yet so, as they rather seemed to retyre, then to bee driuen out of the field, which *Navarra* beholding, rather desyred to die, then liue, and therefore not departing out of the battaile, hee suffered himselfe to be taken prisoner.

But when as *Monsieur de Foix* could not abide to see Spanish footmen to go away in such souldier-like maner, with their ranks vnbroken, hee in a great furie charged them in the taile, with a troupe of horsemen: but being ouerthrowne from his horse, was presently slaine with a Pike, which was thrust into his side, and so died most vnfortunately, when hee had gotten a most glorious and honourable victorie. The Lord *Laurash* (his cousin Germaine) being hurt with about twentiewounds, lay besydes him almost dead, but being succoured in tyme, was afterwards recovered. The number that was slaine on both sides, were well neare tennethousand persons: the thirde part of which were Frenchmen, whose losse was farre the greater by reason of the death of *Foix*, with whom the courage, strength, life and fiercenesse of that army was in a manner utterly extinguished: howbeit they entered *Rauenna*, which they sacked and spoyled, and rooke sundrie other Cities, raunging vp and downe at theyr owne pleasure.

The Spanis  
ards ener-  
throwne at  
Rauenna by  
the French

Navarra tak  
ken prisoner.

Gaston de  
Foix general  
of the French  
army slaine,  
after he had  
gotten the  
victorie.

Rauenna  
sacked and  
spoyled.

But



But presently they began to be afflicted with newecrosses: for the Switzers passing the Alpes, and ioyning with the Venetians, tooke *Cremona* and *Bergama*, and approaching *Millan*, *Trullio* being without hope to defende the Citie, secretly stole away into *Piemont*: and vpon the newes of his departure, *Parma*, *Placentia*, *Bologna*, and almost all *Romagna* returned to the Pope, and *Crema* likewise renioined from the French, choosing *Fregoso*, who had beene generall of the Venecian armie, for their Duke: Thus the French Kings affaires began to be quailed in *Italy*: and by reason the king of *England* was now ready to enter *France*, he was compelled to looke to the defence of his owne countrey, and to suffer the Switzers to take their pleasure in *Millan*. But the French King reconciling himselfe with *England*, married the Kings sister, with whom he liued not three months: but died at *Paris* 1514. after he had reigned seauenteene yeeres, and was buried at *Saint Denis*.

The Switzers expell the French out of Millan.  
The death of Lewis the twelfth king of France.

CHAP. III.

*Francis the first*, King of *France*, winneth *Millan* from the Emperor. His great Vertues: he besiegeth *Pavia*, and is taken prisoner. He is sent into *Spaine*. A league made against the Emperor. The French King is delivered, and falleth out with the Emperor. He dyeth at *Rambouillet*.



**L**ewis the twelfth was no sooner deceased, but *Francis* Duke of *Burgundie* succeeded in the Kingdome, who continuing the former quarrell for the Dukedome of *Millan*, and kingdom of *Naples*, left no stone vniroled to bring his desires to passe: but forthwith there approached many impediments, and sundrie blocks were cast in his way, which manfully altered his courle, & extremely crossed al his designements: for the Emperor *Maximilian* growing aged, and being wearie with the burthen of the Empire, sent Embassadors to the Electors, and to the Pope, to desire them to choose *Charles of Austrie* and king of *Spaine*, for their Emperor: but the French king thinking him to be mightie inough already, labored by all possible meanes to hinder that election. Before that any thing could be accomplished, *Maximilian* died: whereupon the French and Spanish kings became earnest competitors, and each endeouored to win the Goale from other: The French King was put in some hope by the faire promises of the marquess of *Brandenburge*, one of the electors: howbeir, in the ende *Charles of Austrie* was chosen, which spited *Francis* to the heart. And now hee daily picked quarrels at the Emperor, and at last fel flat out with him: for being a Prince of great courage, wise, industrious, rich, and ambitious, hee in a sort disdained that the yong king of *Spaine* should be preferred before him, and therefore he presently hired Switzers, who for money became his mercenaries, and sent *Monsieur de Lantrech* to besiege *Millan*, which was valiantly kept by *Prospero Colonne*. The rumour whereof being spread beyond the Alpes, caused *Antoine de Leuis* to fortifie *Pavia*: so that now all *Italy* began to bee in an vprore, and the French kings comming was greatly feared: for that hee was a Prince vniuersally furnished

Francis the first King of France.  
Francis the first King of France.  
1514  
The King of France laboureth to bee Emperor.  
Charles K. of Spaine chosen Emperor.  
The great commendation of Francis the first.

The great  
commendation  
of France  
in the first

The King of  
France  
keith Millan  
to dinah ed I  
adit uua J

The King  
geth Pavia

The Empe  
rials enuade  
the french  
Kings camp

4 1 2 1

The King  
of France  
and the  
Emperors

Since hunc  
dred Grifons  
were called  
home to de  
fend the  
owne: griffo  
ries.

with all royall vertues, and fit to enterprife great matters: And vnderstanding that the Imperiall power had not onely expelled the French men out of the Duchie of Milan, but yot entered France, and by besieging of *Marseilles* in *Provence*, seemed to dare him within his owne dominions, hee gathered a strong power, and marched towardes his enemies with all speede: who hearing of his coming, brake vp their siege and halted to *Italy*: whom the king pursued so fast, that the emperials were no looner entered into *Milan*, but that hee was hard at the gates: where hee stayed not long; but that the Citie was yeilded vnto him, the imperiall forces forsaking it, and flying to *Lody* after a very tumultuous and disordered sort.

The King vsed the Citizens verie graciously, and hauing somewhat reposed himselfe and refreshed his wearie troupes, marched diuerely towardes *Pavia*, wherein was *Antonio de Leua*, with fise thousand Lanque-nets, fise hundred Spanish footmen, with two cornets of horsemen. The king encamped before the towne, and besieged it very straightly: the emperials beeing aduertised heereof, gathered all theyr forces together, and hauing an army wherein were scanted hundred men of armes, and as many horsemen, a thousande Italian horsemen, and aboute sixteene thousand footemen, Spaniards and Almans: they sente forwarde from *Lody* with a full resolution to remooue the siege or to fight with the French, and hazard all vpon a batraile. The King was no sooner certified hereof, but that sending for all his Captaines and men of war, hee fully determined to continue his siege, and to expect the coming of his enemy, whatsoever comde be allaged to the contrary, often affirming that hee hadde rather dye then to stirre one foote before he had taken the Citie.

The imperiall Captaines beeing driuen into great necessitie for want of money and other necessities, and hauing much addo to pacifie theyr souldiours, thought it best to vse expedition, considering that it was impossible for them to continue long, their men growing mutinous for want of pay: and therupon as those that stood in very desperate estate, halted to inuade the French, who prepared with great courage to meete them: they were exceedingly encouraged by the presence of theyr King, who should be an eye witness of theyr valour and prowesse. The marquesse of *Pescara* with three thousande Spanish footmen assayed the French trenches, where hee slew fise hundred men, and poisoned three peeces of great ordnance.

This v unexpected accident dismayed many of the French souldiers, and therather for that the Admirall, who carryed the cheefe way in the Army next vnto the king, was hurt in the thigh with a shote, and was carried to *Placentia* to bee cured of his wounds.

Much confusion beganne nowe to growe among the Kings Souldiers, and many of his mercenaries or hyrd souldiers, departed before the batraile, beeing called home for the defence of theyr owne Countrey: and the number which was left, was farte lesse then indeed it was reported vnto the King: so that the Emperialles, spying theyr aduantage, sente forwarde, and with surpassing courage inuaded the Kings Campe in the dead of the night,

hauing



having couered their armour with whole shirts, the better to discern one another. Their army was diuided into foure Battailons, the first consisting of six thousand Almaines, Spaniards, and Italians, was led by the marquisse of *Gualfo*, a valiant yong Gentleman, and of great towardnesse in the warres. The second consisting wholly of Spaniards, was conducted by the Marquisse of *Pescara*, who commanded as principall in the army. In the third and fourth battailles were the Dukes of *Barbon* and *Lanoy*, who went as resolutely to the charge as any others.

The King being certified of their approach, and having ordered his troups in as warlike manner as might bee deuised, courageously prepared himselfe for the encounter: both armies were no sooner met, but the fight grew very terrible on both sides, each partie doing his best for the glorie of their nation, and for the obtaining of an entire victorie. The King like a valiant capitaine and noble souldier, fought courageously, and forced the marquisse of *Pescara* to giue ground, whereas hee being endangered to loose all, sent to the Vizroy, who had the leading of the formost battaile, to come to his succors, who vnderstanding in what danger the marquisse was, furiously set on the Switzers, who that day answered not the kings expectation, & breaking their array, wholly defeated them in a moment. Then appeared the misery of the French, and the king himselfe was forthwith in imminent perill, altho he fought manfully, and was seconded with a valiant troupe of French Nobilitie, who did their vttermost for their owne securitie and honor of their country: yet having the marquisse in his front, and *Antonio de Lema*, who was nowe issued out of *Pan'a* with all his forces, on his backe, after he had bene sore wearied and greeuously wounded, both in the face and hand, and had his horse killed vnder him, hee was forced to yeelde to five common Souldiers which knew him not: but shortly after the Viceroy passing by, the king called vnto him, and making himself knowne, was with great reuerence receiued, as *Caesars* prisoner.

Thus was the French king, who not long before had bene in so flourishing estate, commanding not onely ouer all *France*, but also a great part of *Italy*, being so mightie, rich, and puissant, that hee was dreaded of all his neighbor princes, subiected to a maruailous change and alteration, being made first a prisoner to common souldiers, and conuayed from one place to another, vntill at length he came into *Spaine*, having left all his army to the mercie of their enemies, who slew of them well neerer to the number of 10000. and among them there perished twentie of the greatest of the French Nobilitie, as *Boninet*, *Chauany*, *Monsieur de la palissa*, *Tremoile*, *Obiony*, and sundry others of especiall account; as *Henry* the king of *Nauarre*, *Renee* the bastard of *Sauoy*, Duke *Memorant*, *Francis* of *Barbon* Earle of *Saint Paul*, *Biron*, *Imbercourt*, *Floranges* Colonell of the Switzers, with a great number of especiall account were taken prisoners. The Duke of *Alanson* escaped this bloody conflict, and recovered *France* with a mighty troupe of men of armes, who serued for messengers of this wofull newes.

The emperials lost not past some 700. men, and among them no man of any especiall account, but onely *Ferdinando Castriota*, the marquisse of *Saint Angelo*. The Spaniards were maruailously enriched with this victorie, for neuer had so few souldiers so great a boorie. The gold, siluer, and precious mouebles of the

French

The King  
of France  
was  
taken  
prisoner.  
The great  
Nobilitie.

The King of  
France was  
taken prisoner.

The King of  
France was  
prisoner into  
Spaine.

The great  
slaughter of  
the french  
Nobilitie.

French Nobilitie, were that day diuided among their enemies, and euerie Spanish *bisness* seemed to walke in a world of wealth, brauing it out in most superbious manner, with the spoyles of the *Flower de lis*.

All Europe was mightily dismayed with the newes of this victorie, and all estates beganne to grow ialous of the Emperials greatnesse. The Venetians of all others thought themselves most neerely touched therewith, and therefore they offered to ioyne with the Pope, and to hire a ten thousand Switzers to defende *Italy* against the Emperials, hoping that the Lady Regent of *France*, the Duke of *Ferrara*, and many other Princes would ioyne with them against their common enimie. In the meane time the King of *France* was (as is alreadie declared) transported into *Spain*, and sent vp into the Castle of *Madrid*. This was no doubt a bitter receipt, and a sharpe corrosiue to this magnanimous prince, who had not been vied to be confined in so narrow a rounge: but patience with hope was his best comfort, for the Emperour would not see him, much lesse minister any matter of consolation in that his wofull distresse, neither yet did he

The Pope,  
the Venetians  
and other  
potentates,  
make a  
league  
against the  
Emperour.

The moder-  
ation of  
Charles the  
fifth.

seeme to shewe any externall signes of ioy for so glorious a victorie: he prohibited bonfires, ringing of belles, and such like accustomed solemnities, saying that it might bee seemely to vse outward reioycings for victories against the Turks, Sarrazins, and other infidels, but not against christian Princes.

The Emperours Councell were long before they could well tell what to do with this prisoner, they beeing distracted into diuers opinions: but in the ende it was fully concluded to make as great a gaine of him as might bee, and therefore they earnestly pressed him to yeeld ouer all his claime and title, to *Burgundy*, *Milan*, and *Naples*: besides, hee was bound to pay a huge summe of money for his ransome, and to condescend to sundrie other things, and those so great, that no man of iudgement thought hee would bee so good as his word. Yet for assurance the King was contented to marry the Lady *Elynor* the Emperors sister, and to grant that his two sons, the Dolphin and the Duke of *Orleanse* should be left in hostage for the better performance of the conditions. Now was *France* brought to a lowe ebbe, and the auncient splendor and glorie thereof mightily obscured: yea, that renoumed Kingdome, which had beene alwaies accounted the parragon of all *Europe*, and hadde beene a terror vnto the *Roman* monarchy, sate as a desolate widow that had lost her husband, in weeping, wailing, and great lamentation. But shortly after this afflicted countrey began to bee recomforted, and as it were reuiued, after it had felt the pangs of death, for the king being once set at libertie and gotten into *France*, solicited other Princes, as the Pope, the king of *England*, the Venetians, and other states to ioyne with him, and made a strong league, and fell flat out with the emperour afresh, notwithstanding all the promises which had beene made. Then presently ensued new warres, and all *Europe* was in a sort infected with this contagious humor. Fortune which hadde so extreemely crossed the French designements, began to be more fauourable, and to beholde the king with a smiling countenance, for the Lord *Lantrech* beeing sent into *Italy*, tooke *Basco*, *Genes*, *Alexandria*, and *Pania* from the emperour, maruailously aduancing the French affaires.

The agree-  
ment betweene  
the Emperour  
and the  
French King.

The emperour beeing vexed at the heart with these newes, complained greuously



greuously of the king, offering him the Combate, calling him forsworne and periured prince; the King gaue him the lie, and affirmed that hee would make it good vpon his body, when and where he durst. Thus did these mightie potentates fight a farre off with their tongues, and their armies in *Italy*, and other where sought to ruinate and ouerthrow each other by all possible meanes. After many conflicts, wherein sometime the emperials, and sometime the French as it were alternatiuely had the better, there was a peace concluded for tenne yeeres: in which time the Emperour in very freendly and louing manner, passed through *France*, to repressse certaine tumultuous ourages committed in *Flanders*. This peace beeing expired, they fell again into new broyles, but they were soone ended: and nowe began *France* to bee scourged with the English, who hauing gotten *Bulloigne*, wasted their countrey round about. The French king beeing very desirous to impale the English forces, and to keep them from forraging after their woonted manner, rayled certaine forts round about in the most conuenient places: but whilst hee was earnestly busied herein, hee suddenly fell sicke and died 1546. at a place called *Rambouillet*, hauing reigned 32. yeeres, leauing his sonne to succcede him in all his territories and dominions.

The Emperour offereth the combate to the french King.

A peace bee sweene the Emperour and the French King. 1146 The death of Francis the first, king of France.

## CHAP. V.

Henry the second maketh warre against the Emperour, and taketh Metz and many other townes. The Queene of Hungary innadeth France. The great army of the Emperour for the recauerie of Metz, which was kept by the Duke of Guise. The Emperour raiseth his siege. Terroanne is beseged by the Emperials. The King raised a great power to withstand the Emperour. The cruelty of the French in Henault. The battaile of Reuty. The King and the Emperour breake up their armies. Charles the fifth yieldeth ouer his empire. Rome besieged and taken. King Phillip of Spaine besiegeth Saint Quintins, which he taketh after hee had ouerthrowne all the power of France. The original of the Huguenots in France. Callis besieged and taken by the Guise. Count Egmond ouerthroweth Monsieur de Termes the Captaine of Callis. Phillip King of Spaine marryeth the French Kings daughter. At whose marriage the King of France is slaine by Montgommery.

Henry the second King of France.

1549 The king of France becometh all his forces against the Emperour.

Metz taken by the french



Henry the second of that name, King of France, was not onely heire of his fathers Kingdome, but also of all royall vertues, and princely qualities. In the beginning of his raigne hee maintained the Scots against the English; but at length a composition beeing made, hee bent all his forces against the Emperour, who at that time made warre against the Princes of Germany, and hauing gathered a strong power, wherein were 2500 french footmen, 7000. Lanqueneres, 1200. men of armes, besides 2000. horsemen, & as many harquebuziers on horseback, vnder the leading of the Duke of Aumale, ordaining the admirall Annebaut his Vizgerent in France, commanded the Conestable to march before with the vaungard, who aduanced towards Metz. The towne was quickly yeilded, vpon such composition

## THE INVARIABLE

20  
as pleased the king, and so became annexed to the crowne of France. From thence the king went towards *Straßbourg*, where the French would gladly haue entred, but the Citizens would in no wise permit them: howbeit they offered what prouision they were able to spare, but that would hardly suffice notwithstanding, considering the Cittie was very strong, and the people resolutely bent to defende themselves, the King turned towards *Hoguenau* and *Vvisbourg*, where the Embassadors of the emperiall princes met with him, and desired him that he would enter no further into *Germany*: With which message although the King was nothing well pleased, yet he made a faire shew, and seemed to take all things well, and returned towards *France*.

*The Queene of Hungary* The Queene of *Hungary* the Emperours sister, vnderstanding of the retreat of the French, deuised all the meanes that might be to impeach them, and to cut of as many as shee could catch at any aduantage: and hauing leauied an army to the number of twelue thousand footmen, & three thousand horse, vnder the leading of the Count *Mansfeld* and *Martin Vaurst*, entered the faire fields of the *Fleur de Lys*, which they spoyled verie pittiously. The King beeing aduertised heereof, marched with all speede to releue his distressed subiects. but the emperials hearing of his resolution, retired speedily, whereupon the King began to cast about how he might conquer the Duchie of *Luxembourg*, and hauing taken a Castle called *Rock*, hee laide siege vnto *Saint Iehan*, *Solieu*, and *Danuill*, all which were forthwith yeelded vnto the King. *Tuoy* a place of great importance helde out for a time, but in the ende it was gladd to hearken to a composition: for albeit that the valiant Counte *Mansfeld* hadde put himselfe within the Towne, and had fortified it very strongly, with a resolution to defende it against all men, yet by reason of the cowardlinesse of his Souldiers, he was forced to yeeld to the Constable, and he with sundrie others of especiall account, were carried prisoners to *Paris*. Then ensued the taking of *Mamedy*, *Luxembourg*, and the Dukedome of *Bouillon*, by the marshall of *Sedan*: *Cimets* was likewise taken, and the spoyle thereof given to the souldiers.

*The French King breakes vp his army.*

Thus the French king prospered, gaining many Townes, Castles, and strong holds from the Empire, without any resistance: but his souldiers beeing wearied and diseased, hee was forced to breake vp his campe, and lay them in garrisons, and to expect what course the Emperour would take, to recouer his honour and to regaine his townes: who by reason he was occupied in the warres with certaine of the Germane princes, could not hinder the French proceedings. But he hauing (with much ado) compounded with *Maurice*, and the rest of the Protestants, employed all his counsels how to recouer that which the French king had taken from him: and hauing perswaded with the Germane potentates to aide and assist him in his intended enterprise, caused al his old bands which were in *Italy*, as well Italians as Spaniards, to repaie to him with all speede: who with the troups of *Lombardy* and *Piemont* passed ouer the *Alps*, and ioyned with the emperiall army, which was assembled in *Germany*, consisting of *Bohemians*, *Hungarians*, *Polonians*, *Almaines*, *Wallounes*, *Cleueners*, *Flemmings*, and *Burgonians*, to the number of 50000. footmen, and 20000. horsemen, with incredible force of artillerie, and all other warlike prouision.

*The great army of the Emperour.*

The king of *France* vnderstanding of the resolution of the Emperour, which

was



was to recouer *Metz*, and the rest of the townes, which had beene taken from the empire, dispatched the duke of *Guise*, a man of good experience in the wars, with commaundement to put himselfe within the Towne, to fortifie it, and to furnish it with al necessarie prouision, the better to endure the siege, & appointed the *Rendezvous*, or place of assembly for the rest of his army at *S. Michael*, a little towne in *Lorraine*, where there met with him the Constable, the Duke of *Nevers*, the Count *Anjouen*, the Prince of *Conde*, the Prince of *Conte*, the Prince of *Anmaile*, the Vicont of *Rohan*, the Marechall *Saint Andrew*, *Chastillon* Collo-nell of all the French infanterie, the Count *Villars*, *Bourdillon* one of the Ma-rechals of the Campe, the *Rbinegrau*, and *Reiroc*, with their Regiments of *Launcequenets*, and many other noble Lordes and captaines. In the whole there were some thirtie thousand footmen, French, *Almains* and *Switzers*: and about seven or eight thousand horsmen. The Emperor being troubled with the gout, lay long before he attempted any thing, so that October was halfe past, insomuch as the French King seeing the yeare so farre spent, supposed that hee would doo nothing, especially agaynst *Metz*, which was a place of very great strength, and plentifully stored with all necessaries. And the rather for that his principall captaines, and chieftaines of greatest experience dissuaded him all that might be, from enterprising any further, vntill some better oportunitie. Notwithstanding, the emperor would not hearken to their counsels, nor be di-uered by any meanes, but with all possible speede planted his armie before the towne, in this maner following.

*The Duke of Guise sent to keepe Metz against the Emperor.*

*The French Kings armie.*

The Duke of *Alua* was sent before, with the choicest of the emperiall armie, who passing the riuer of *Seille*, encamped as neare the towne as he could, and bestowed sundry of his forces in the strongest forts adioyning. The Spanish companies were lodged at *Saint Arnold*, and *Saint Clement*. Certaine troupes of the *Almains* were placed at a Bridge called *Magny*. *Don Lewis*, *D'Auila*, cap-taine of the Spanish Horsmen, was appoynted at the Hospitall. The Se-neschall of *Moravia*, with the Bohemian Horsmen, encamped at *Blery*, and the rest at *Ollerie*, *Saint Preich*, and other places neare abouts. All things beeing in a readinesse, the emperials beganne to beate the Towne with their great Ordinance, in verie furious sort, and in all hostile maner to annoy the defend-ants. The batterie continued long, and yet the harme was but small, neither could the breach be made sufficient for an assault. Whereupon they remoued the Canon to another part of the Citie. And falling to mining, supposed to o-uertrow some peece of the wall with Gunpowder. But the Duke of *Guise* vnderstanding the drift of his enemyes, caused countermynes to bee made, wherein they had not trauailed long, but they might heare the noyse and stirring of the Spaniardes, and so were theyr deuises easily preuented. This was no small discouragement to the Emperials, seeing they preuailed not, neyther by one meanes nor other. Besides the season of the yeare grewe ex-treame colde, insomuch as the Souldiours which lay in the fieldes, were sore pinched, and many dyed for want of necessaries: so that all sortes beganne to waxe wearie of the siege, and inwardly desired to be dismissed. The *Almains* themselves began to quaille: yet as men that would win some honour, they in-stantly craued of the Emperour, that he would commaund a sufficient breach

*The siege of Metz.*

*The emperio als weary of the siege.*

## THE MVTABILITIE

to be made, and they would either enter, or loose their liues, for they were not able to keepe the field any longer. Then began he to be sore grieved, foreseeing the miserable end that would ensue, of that his rash and inconsiderate enterprise, yet would he in no wise consent to raise his siege, but with great persuasions animated his souldiours to persist, promising that if he could not make a sufficient breach before the newe yeare, he would breakevp his armie, and licence euery man to depart.

*The emperor  
resolues to  
depart from  
Metz, the  
10. of Decem-  
ber, 1553.*

This satisfied them for the time, and made them to temporise, & expect their better fortune. And to the end they might all be assured of his great care to perforce this: he priuately commaunded the Duke of Alua to continue the mines with all diligence. Which charge was so willingly accepted, and so carefully performed, that the pioners ceased neither day nor night. But the season of the yeare was so contrary, and so repugnant, that nothing could bee accomplished as was desired. Besides, the French who were in the Towne, with their often falling forth, did exceedingly endamage them, and slue many. So that what with the colde, and extremitie of the winter, and the couragious attempts of the French, the Emperours army dayly diminished, and yet nothing to the purpose performed. Which when with intollerable sorrowe and vexation of spirit hee considered, he resolved to depart. And sending away his great Ordinaunce before, with his other weightiest and most troublesome carriages, himselfe followed with the rest of his armie, which was so feeble, and so weake with famine and sicknesse, that they were scarce able to go. The Duke of Neuers was left by the King, to attende the Emperour, and to watch him at euery turne. VVho carefully executing his masters commaundement, followed the emperials in the taile, and cut off sundrie as they strayed from the grosse of the armie.

*The miser-  
able estate of  
the imperiall  
army at their  
departure  
from Metz.*

Chaffellon Lieutenant to Captaine Bourdillon, was sent to discouer, and to bring some certaintie of the emperors retreat. Who coming to Pont Camonson, found that the Count Egmond with his regiment was departed, and had left behinde him a most pitifull spectacle of maimed and diseased persons. From thence hee passed on towards Metz. But the Duke of Alua and Brabancon, were departed with a great part of the army dislodging in a very strange and disordered maner, without sound of drum, leauing many of their tents with sundry barrels of powder, & much warlike prouision behind them, besides an incredible multitude of lame, sicke, diseased, and impotent persons, as testimonies of their hard fortune.

*The emperor  
purposeth to  
besiege Te-  
roanne, which  
Pannilliers is  
commaunded  
to defend.*

The French king being certified by the duke of Guise, of all that had passed, was exceeding ioyfull, and seemed to triumph ouer the emperor, who being a Prince that could not well brooke any indignity, sought still to bee reuenged. Whereupon assembling a new army as soone as the time of the yeare permitted, he besieged Teroanne. Which the King vnderstanding, commanded Pannilliers to leueie what forces he thought conuenient, and to keep it from the enemy. Whereupon Francis Memorancy, eldest son of the Constable, accompanied with many valiant captaines, and gentlemen of good qualitie, his followers, repaired to Teroanne, purposing by their heroycall and noble acts, to win themselves honour and renowne. The towne being defended with so strong a garrison, and sufficiently prouided of all necessaries, was thought to bee tenable agaynst the strongest enemye



emie that was: and therefore the emperials were suffered to do what they listed. Who endeavouring to effect some notable exploit, laboured night and day, and made their approches without any empeachment, placing their batterie vpon a little mount, from whence they might annoy the defendants at their pleasure. They had brought with them all warlike prouision, as powder, shot, and all sorts of great and small Ordinance, from sundry townes and castels of *Flanders*. For this place was so odious vnto all that inhabited neare vnto it, that as soone as it was besieged, not onely the women and little children, ranne thither to behold so glad some a sight, but in token of their ioies, they sung songs, with dauncing and leaping, and brought into the campe, corne, beere, bread, sheepe, and beecues, in great abundance.

Their batterie being once planted, they began to beat the towne in such furious sort, that the besieged were exceedingly endangered, no place being free from imminent perill. Notwithstanding, like men of valour and courage, they resolutely defended themselves, often issuing forth, and fighting with the emperials in their trenches, killed many of them, & poisoning some of their great Ordinance, drew other some into the towne in despite of their enemies. And albeit the emperials were much endomaged herewith, yet were they so readily relieved from other places, and all their wants so diligently supplied, that they easily amended as much in a day, as the French had marred in a week. So that wanting nothing that might either helpe themselves, or hurt their enemies, they ceased neither day nor night, but thundring continually with the Canon, beat downe the walles, and ouethrew the Towers and Bulwarks, leauing nothing in a manner vnder which the besieged might shroud themselves. Howbeit they labored continually to repaire the breaches, and as men desperate and carelesse of their owne securitie, they would be most busie where the Canon was most furious, bringing earth, dung, fagots, and such like necessarie matter for defence. Which continuall trauell did maruellously weaken the defendants, and by reason they were no great number, they were forced to be both souldiours and pioners, to watch in the night, and fight in the day, alwayes in action without ceasing or intermission. In the midst of these great extremities, there entred into the towne one called capitaine *Greille*, with a hundred *Carabins*. Who forcing the enemies *Corps de gard*, with the losse of a fewe of his men, was readily receiued by the French, who attended his comming with great deuotion.

The assailants were nothing discouraged herewith, but plied their batterie more hotely then before, shooting for the space of ten dayes together. And hauing beaten downe all their flankers, and other places of defence, and therewithall made a reasonable breach of sixtie paces in breadth, prepared to giue an assault Collonell, which the French resolved to abide. Then strooke vp the drums, the rumpers sounded, the ensignes were displaied, & the emperials marched on, with crying, shouting, and after their maner making a terrible noyse & approaching the breach, strived to enter with marvellous furie. The French on the other side valiantly resisted, and with equall courage defended themselves. The fight continued long, and many were slaine on either side. But in the ende the emperial captains, seeing the great mortality of their men, caused them to retire, hauing lost many of their brauest, and most forward souldiours.

*The furious  
batterie of  
Teroanne.*

*The courage  
of the besieged.*

*Captaine  
Greille entred  
Teroanne with  
100. Carabins.*

*The emperials are repulsed.*

*Brenit and  
S. Romain  
enter Terot  
anne with  
300 fresh  
souldiers.*

*Teroanne  
surprised by  
the emperials  
whilest the  
French are  
talking of a  
composition.*

*Teroanne is  
dismanteled.*

*The French  
K. gathereth  
a great power  
to resist the  
Emperor.  
Hedyn besie-  
ged and won  
by the Em-  
perials.*

*The French  
killeth seven  
or eight hun-  
dred Empe-  
rials.*

The King of *Fraunce* vnderstanding of the noble valour of his men, albeit hee feared not the losse of the towne, yet the more to animate them, hee sent a new supplie of three hundred, vnder the leading of Captaine *Brenit*, and Saint *Romain*: who with great hazard and perill gat into the Towne. They without still continued their siege, and what with rayling forts without, and with vndermining within the ground, they endomaged the besieged more then before. And hauing after much ado enlarged the breach, and made the ascent so easie, that a man of Armes might passe out and in at pleasure, they cryed to a newe assault. The French beeing greatly dismayed herewith, and knowing they wanted all necessaryes to defende themselves anie longer, demaunded a parlee, whereto the emperials yeelded. But whilest they were talking, the *Almaines* and *Burgonians* entered in sundrie places, and the *Spaniards* approached the great breach. And so was the Towne taken without anie resistance. The *Almaines* and *Burgonians* enraged agaynst the poore French, committed manie barbarous factes, and straunge cruelties, killing and murthring whosoever fel into their hands. *Francis Memorancie* hardly escaped, and was led prisoner to *Binecour*, lieutenant to the emperor. *Martignes*, *Dampier*, *de Losses*, *Bandiment*, *Baylet*, *Saint Roman*, and sundry other great captains, yeelded themselves to such as would take them. The towne was sacked and spoiled: whatsoeuer was worth any thing, was caried away by the emperials: the emperor commanded it should be dismanteled, and the houses fired: so that in short time it was vterly spoiled and defaced.

When as the French King vnderstood of this losse, he was wonderfully greeued, and fearing least the emperor, (who was on the other side as ioisfull for the good newes) would follow his fortune, and besiege *Hedyn*, he gathered a strong power of French and *Switzers*, and made all things ready, with as great celeritie as might be, to stop the enemies proceedings, if need required: but it was so long before his troupes could be assembled, that the emperials vnder the leading of the Prince of *Piemont*, were gotten before the towne, which they straightly besieged, & battered on all sides. And for that it was not very well fortified, it was quickly gained. There were slaine on the French part, *Horatius Farnelius* duke of *Castres*, *Martignes*, *Monuille*, *Cizioux*, *Lusignan*, *Dampier*, and diuerse other captains and commanders. The duke of *Bouillon*, *Rien*, the Count *Villars*, with the baron of *Culan*, were taken prisoners. The King was more and more inwardly vexed to see himselfe thus thwarted. Wherefore assembling his army neere vnto *Amiens* and *Piquenny*, vnder the leading of the Constable, hee waited his oportunitie to be reuenged of his enemies: who after the taking of *Hedyn*, spoyled the frontiers of *Fraunce*, without pitie or mercie. The French espying theyr aduantage, set vpon them on the suddaine, and slue seven or eight hundred, and tooke the duke of *Askot* prisoner, and almost fise hundred others. This losse somewhat abated the pride of the emperiall souldiours, and encouraged the French to attempt greater matters: for they presently marched towards *Banpalme* which was very well manned, & sufficiently appointed of all necessaryes, & encamping before the town, straitly enuironed it on all sides. There were with the Constable, the duks of *Neuers*, of *Vendosme*, *Anguien*, *Montpensier*, and the admiral *Chastillon*, with their regiments, amouting to the nuber of 8. or 9. thousand men.

The



the *Rhingrane* was colonel of the Lancequents, with whom was *Reisburg*, both which had also 4. regiments, diuided into twenty ensignes, being in the whole sum 12000. besides foure companies of Scots, and two of English, in all not past 1500. men. The Nobilitie and Gentlemen made wel neare three thousand horse vnder the conduct of *La Faye. Sansac*, was capitaine of the light horse, being in all two thousand, reckoning the foure hundred English, who were very valiant souldiers, and of great courage. *Monsieur d'Esire* was master of the Ordinance, wherof there were in all about a hundred peeces.

This whole army consisted of 27500. footmen, and five thousand horsemen.

This mighty army besieged *Banpalme*, which place was as odious to the French as *Terouanne* was to the Burgonians. The Constable taking with him 4000. horsemen, and as many footmen, first viewed the town, as well to see the countenance of those within, as to make choise of a conuenient place to encampe in. *Hausi-mont* was gouernor for the emperor, a man of very great account, hauing with him some twelue ensignes of footmen, and foure hundred horse, who vpon the approach of the French, thundred from the towne with their great Ordinance, and falling forth at their gates, skirmished very valiantly. The French seeing the resolution of the defendants, & finding an exceeding want of water, which could not by any meanes be supplied, were enforced to depart, & to defer their siege vntill some other time, hauing first spoiled and wasted all the country round about, and so marched towards *Cambrai*, where hauing summoned the towne, and seeing he could not be suffered to enter, he fired the suburbs, & vsing all kind of hostilitie towards them, tooke certaine litle castles and holds neer adioyning. And albeit the emperor being certified of all this, had commaunded the Prince of *Piemont*, to aide those of *Cambrai*, and to relieue them by all possible meanes: yet the French did in a manner what they listed, and being maisters of the field, helde the imperials verie short, who for that they were not able to encounter them, kept themselues within their strengths, and would not bee drawne to aduenture their fortune vpon any occasion which was offered.

The Constable vieweth Banpalme but seeing the resolution of the defendants marche toward Cambray.

The king considering that the emperor did procrastinate, seeking by delaies to spend the time, vntill either the extremity of winter should approach, or his souldiers be wearied with continual toile & trauaile, hauing wonderfully indomaged his enemies by sacking, burning & spoiling all the country ouer, and braued the emperor at home at his own doores, thinking he had sufficiently reuenged the former wrongs, & performed all things with great honor & renoume, resolved to break vp his army, and to licence his nobles to depart, and to recreate theselues after so long & tedious trauail, placing strong garrisons in sundry frontier towns, the better to bridle the enemy if he should attempt any thing in his absence.

The King breaketh up his campe.

The emperor was not a little vexed with these French brauados, and enuying the glory of the King, sought for nothing so much as for reuenge, wherfore casting about how he might best effect his desire, he first compassed a mariage betweene *Marie* Queene of *England*, and his sonne *Philip* King of *Spain*, thereby to strengthen and fortifie himselfe, the better agaynst *Fraunce*. VVhich when King *Henrie* vnderstood, he againe gathered his forces, with all conuenient speede, purposing indeede to preuent the Emperour, or at least to meete with him as soone as anie oportunitie served. His whole forces were diuided into three Armies: the first, which consisted of nine thousande footmen,

The French King gathereth three new armies.

three hundred men of armes, and six hundred light horse, with as many harquebuziers on horseback, was sent into *Picardie*, vnder the leading of the prince *de la Roch sur Ton*. In the second were five and twentie ensignes of French footmen: two regiments of *Almaines* with their Coronels, the *Rhineraue*, and *Reisberg*: and five and twentie ensignes of *Switzers*, foure hundred men of Armes, and two thousand light horse, ouer whom the Conestable was appointed generall. The third army was led by the Duke of *Neuers*, wherein were twentie ensignes of French footmen, drawn out of the garrisons of *Metz*, *Verdun*, *Troule*, *d'Anuille*, *Tuoy*, and *Momedie*: two regiments of the Count *Rakendolph*, and of the Baron of *Frontenay*, three hundred men of armes, eight hundred light horse, two hundred Pistoliers vnder the leading of the Prince of *Conde*.

The fortune  
of the Kings  
armies.

These three armies entred the emperours dominions at three sundry places, burning, spoyling, and making hauocke after a strange and cruell maner. The Duke of *Neuers* tooke *Ardennes*, *Lincbant*, *Villarcy*, besides many other strong Castels, and well fortified places. The Conestable marched towardes *Anannes*, and caused it to be bruted, that he would besiege it: but vnderstanding that there was but a slender garrison in *Marianbourg*, he secretly dispatched the Marechall of Saint *Andrew*, with the *Switzers*, and certaine companies of the French footmen, who approching on the suddaine, enuironed the towne, and kept those within from receyuing of anie newe supplie. Wherewith they being greatlie terrified, yeelded vnto the Conestable vpon the first summaunce. From thence they passed soorth towarde *Dinon*, where the Duke incorporating himselfe with an other strong power, brought by the King, layde siege to the Castle, which for that it was verie strong, would not condiscende to anie composition: whereupon the batterie was planted, and the walles were continually beate with thirtie Canons, wherewith the French ouerthrowing the Towers, Bulwarkes, and whatsoeuer might serue for anie defence, made a sufficient breach, and gaue a verie hore assaulte, but they were repul- sed, by reason of the cowardlynesse of some leaders, who therefore were presentlie cashiered, and discharged of theyr places, and pronounced villains, to their perpetuall infamie, and disgrace. Yet those within being not able to holde out, yelded at last to the kings mercy, and suffred the French to enter peaceably.

Certain Capt-  
ains cashiered  
for their cow-  
ardlynesse.

1554

As these two armies conquered wheresoeuer they became, and grew verie famous for their noble exploits: so did the Prince *de la Roch sur Ton*, with his forces prosper exceedingly, and was verie terrible to the emperials, by winning of townes, castels, and strong holds, and by burning and defacing all things without pitie, or mercie.

The Emper-  
or rayseth a  
great power.

The emperour being at *Brussels*, and hearing of the proceeding of the French, raised a great power, ouer which hee made Generall his Nephew the Duke of *Sanoy*, who suspecting that the French King would besiege *Namure*, put himselfe in the way betweene the towne and the King, in a very strong and wel fortified place, purposing to diuert the enemy, if possibly he might: which indeede was the cause that the King turned towards *Hennault*, where the French entred with such fury, that they put all to fire and sword, sparing neither man, woman, nor childe, to the vnspeakeable horror of the inhabitants, who fled on all sides from this violent and outrageous tempest. The duke of *Sanoy* followed them at

The crueltie  
of the French  
in Hennault.

the



the heeles and endamaged them so much as might be, but could not effect any great matter: for the French king still marched forward into the Countrey, and tooke the most delectable and pleasant Castle called *Marymont*, which was a house of pleasure, and belonged to the Emperours Sister, *Mary* Queene of *Hungary*. The King commanded it should be rased, and utterly defaced in a reuenge of the displeasure she had done him, in burning of his Castles of *Faulcmbray*, *Trigny*, *Baines*, *Roux*, and *Bapet*. besides, many other places were taken by the French, to the vtter vndooing of many thousandes of the poore inhabitants.

Whilst these broyles continued thus hotly betweene the emperials and the French, the marriage betweene *Phillip* of *Spaine* and Queene *Mary* of *England* was agreed vppon, and immediarly after hee arrived in *England* very nobly accompanied with the Duke of *Alua*, the Counts de *Padille*, *Rigomes*, *Egmond*, the Admirall of *Castill*, the marquesse de *Lanquillare*, and many other great estates. The King of *France* seeing well enough to what ende all this tended, thought it best to stand vpon his guard, and to haue all things in a readinesse: and therefore heereuiewed his armies, mustered new Souldiers, gathered mony and all other necessities, drawing his forces towards those parts that hee most suspected should be inuaded: and surprising many Castles and strong holds, continued his course without any interruption, vntill hee came before *Reuty*, which for that it was a place of very great importance, hee determined to winne it, and the emperour resolved to keepe it. The French hauing planted their siege had so bet the towne, that a conuenient breach was made, and they readie to giue an assault: which when the emperour vnderstood, hee made all possible speed to releue the, purposing rather to hazard his fortune, then to suffer the French to haue their willes: wherefore hauing chosen out foure thousande of his best shot, with a conuenient number of pikes to backe them, and about foure thousand horsemen, besides foure field peeces, hee commanded them to march towards a wood which was neere adioyning, which he couered to take if possibly he might. The whole cauallery was ledde by the Duke of *Sauoy*, and the harquebuziers by Don *Fernando de Gonzaga*. There marched also a battailon of *Almaines* along by the wood side, vnder the conduct of Count *Iohn* of *Nassau*, & the mareschall of *Cleue*, which was flanked with a great Hot or Squadron of *Reisters*, to the number of two thousand horse, vnder the leading of the count *Vuluenfort*, who had promised the emperour to march vppon the bellies of the French Cauallery, and to trample them vnder his feete: at whose backe were somethousand two hundred light horse, with other foure field peeces. These harquebuziers were no sooner entred the wood, but they encountred foure hundred French shot, betweene whom and the emperials there beganne a very hot and furious skirmish.

The Duke of *Guyse* who had taken vppon him to keepe that quarter, seeing with what courage the emperials maintained the fight, supposed they were wel backed, whereupon hee presently sent word to the King, that he imagined the emperor was comming with all his forces, and that there was great likelihood of a battaile as that day: vppon which aduertisement the king forthwith arranged his troups in as warlike manner as he might, & sent word to the *Guyse*, that if

*Mary*.  
mont taken  
and spoiled  
by the french.

The marriage  
of *Phillip*  
king of  
*Spaine*, with  
*Maria*  
Queene of  
*England*.

The battailie  
of *Reuty*.

The vaine  
brag of count  
*Vuluenfort*.

if oportunitie serued hee should accept of the iourney; and hee would be ready to assist him. Then began the Duke of *Guyse* to encourage his souldiers, and to animate them with the best words he could deuise: and putting himselfe in the front of his Regiment, waied his best oportunitie to assaile his enemy. In the meane while the Constable passed ouer a litle river, with certaine companies on foote, and the whole battaile of the Switzers, who were wonderfully encouraged with the presence of the King, that had promised to liue and die with them.

By this time the Emperials were so farre aduanced, that they had beaten the foure hundred shot out of the wood, and appeared full in the face of the foremost battailon of the French, and beeing fauoured by their Reisters, approached within two hundred paces of the Duke, who presently commanded to charge them. Whereupon the Duke of *Nemours* with his Regiment of light horse, sette vpon the Reisters in the front, and sent *Forges* the guydon of his compaignie, and *Tannus* to assaile them in the Flanke. So there ensued a hot and furious combate: but in the ende the French were repulsed with the losse of many brave men. With which happy successe the emperials were wonderfully encouraged, perswading themselves that they had gotten an entire victory. But the Duke of *Guyse* and *Tannus* calling their troups, and ioyning with the Duke of *Assault* and the whole caualery of light horse, charged the Emperials afresh, and that with such furie, that the Count *Vulnafort* was wholly defeated; and his Pistoliers quite ouerthrowne, who while they hasted to saue themselves, ranne vpon the battaile of their Almaines, who by that meanes were exceedingly disordered: so that the Duke of *Neuers* who was placed with his Regiment towards *Renty*, espying a passage laid open, entred as it were at the breach, vpon the Spanish shot, and with such resolution followed his point, that he defeated them in a moment, drining them to run towards the wood to saue themselves.

There were taken seauenteene ensignes, siue Cornets, and foure field peeces. The French pursued their victorie, and slew to the number of some sixe or seauen hundred of these runnawaies, chaling them hard to their trenches. Thus did fortune still fauour the French kings proceeding, and crossed the Emperor almost in all his enterprises.

After this victorie the Emperour would no more be drawn to fight, but kept himselfe with all his forces, emparked within his strength: which the French king perceining, hee determined to retire towards *Montreuil*, to refresh his wearie armie, leauing *Renty* as a thing that would not bee gotten in haste: where he staid not long but remouued towards *Champeigne*, and hauing fortified *Baulain*, and sundrie other frontier Townes, brake vp his Armie, and licensed euerie man to depart: but this was no sooner knowne to the Emperour, but hee taking the oportunitie, sent his forces to spoyle the frontiers of France, where there was made a pittious spoyle in a short time. At length the Emperour likewise dissolved his troups, and stuffing his Townes with strong garrisons, thought it best to expect some better oportunitie to accomplish his desires.

Winter was no sooner past, but that the French king, who was somewhat puffed

The french  
charge the  
Emperials

Count Vulnafort  
throwne.

The king and  
the Emperor  
dissolue their  
armies.



puffed vp with his former victories, and finding himselfe greeued with newe iniuries, made great preparation for newe broyles, and for more bloody wars then before: and vnderstanding that the confines of *France* were sore anoyed with the Emperiall garrisons, sent Marefchall Saint *Andre* and *Bourdillon* with a conuenient number, to stop the course of the insolent enemie, and to enterprise further as occasion should bee offered. And albeit there was great meanes made to reconcile these two mightie potentates, yet nothing could bee effected: for the french King required *Naples*, *Millan*, *Burgundy*, *Piemont*, *Nauarre*, and many other places: and the Emperour would part with nothing, so that the treatie being broken off, warre presently ensued: for the Emperour hauing a power in a readinesse vnder the leading of *Martin Ronsare* the bastard of *Cleue*, intiaued the territories belonging to the *Flower de Lis*, burning, spoyling, and wasting in most outragious manner: but this stormie tempest continued not long, for the emperials began to fal sick of many diseases, and to want victuals, so that they were forced to retire, hauing lost their generall and many others of especiall account. Thus did the Emperour stande still in fortunes disgrace, and nothing seemed to prosper that he tooke in hand, vntill mid *August* following, that shee began to returne her fauour towards him, by giuing him as it were some good words, after so many sharpe and bitter checks. At which time *Hansimont* gouernour of *Baupalme*, vnderstanding that a great power of the French were entred into his maisters territorie, vnder the leading of *La Faille*, setting vppon them on the sodaine, slewe many of them, and tooke *La Faille* prisoner, with sundrie other of good account, in somuch as the emperials boasted, that they hadde taken the French Nobilitie in grosse, and not by retaile, and that they neuer wayed them, but tooke them vpon their words.

The Emperour and the French K. would not be reconciled.

*Hansimont* ouerthroweth the French, and taketh their generall prisoner.

While the emperor and the king were thus busied in the frontiers of *Picardy*, their armies vnder the leading of the marefchall *Brissack* and the Duke of *Alua*, fought to anoy each other in *Piemont*. Captaine *Saluoyson* surprised *Casal* in the dead of the night, being one of the strongest and best fortified places in all those quarters: wherein were taken *Figuerot* gouernor of the Towne, and the Count *Ladron*, general of the *Almaines*, and maruailous store of all necessarie prouision for the warres. *Monsieur de Termes* preuailed mightily in *Italy*, and ouerthrew the emperials at *Senes* with great slaughter and mortalitie: but he being called home, *Strozzi* was appoynted Lieutenant in his place, who fighting with the emperialles was wholly defeated: and *Clermont*, *Moulbazon*, *Blaise* with the Collonels of the *Switzers* were slain, with sundry others, to the number of three hundred: and fiftie hundred were taken prisoners.

1553

*Casal* surprised by Captaine *Saluoyson*.

*Strozzi* ouerthroweth the Emperials.

Thus fortune seemed to play with these two mightie Princes, and to sport her selfe in the interchangeable fauour which shee bestowed vppon their armies, vntill winter approaching, they were forced to forsake the field, and draw their souldiers into garrisons, expecting the spring of the yeere to make an end of their bitter contentions.

But the emperor now growing sickly and weake, and waxing wearie with tossing and tumbling in these worldly affaires, considering the variable change and mutabilitie to which they were subiect, yeelded vp his kingdome

of

*Charles the  
fift yeerleth  
ouer his em-  
pire, and bes-  
taketh him-  
selfe to a mo-  
nastery.*

1557

*The Pope  
besieged by  
the Spanish  
forces.*

*The Duke of  
Guise sent  
to raise the  
siege.*

*The siege is  
raised, and  
the Pope  
set at liberty.*

*King Phillip  
prepareth  
a great army  
to besiege S.  
Quintines.*

*Chastillon  
putteth him-  
selfe within  
S. Quintins.*

of Spaine, and all other his dominions, and that absolutely vnto his sonne *Phillip*, and spent the rest of his daies in a monastery which he had builded for that purpose.

*Phillip* King of Spaine being somewhat terrified with the rumor of the coming of the Turke, and partly solicited by his wife, who was loath to haue him encombered with the warres, was contented to hearken to a peace, which the French king refused not: whereupon, after long debating on either side, a league was concluded for fife yeeres, but it could not bee kept halfe the time: for the Pope and his Cardinals falling at discention, and the Spanish king taking part with the one, and the French king with the other, the warres beganne againe afresh in *Italy* betweene these two late reconciled enemies. The Duke of *Alua* was sent against the triple Crowne of *Rome*, who with the ayde of the Duke of *Florence*, rooke many Castles and holds belonging to the Pope, whom they belieged within *Saint Angels*. The Duke of *Guise*, though contrarieto the Counsel of *Ann de Memorancy*, and his Cousins *Olet* and *Iaspas Coligny*, called *Chastillon*, was sent to raise the siege, who accompanied with the Dukes of *Anmaile* and *D'Elbenfe* his brothers, the Duke of *Nemours*, the count *D'Eu*, the *Vidame* of *Chartres*, and sundrie other great Captains, marched forward with all possible speede, purposing to relecue the distressed Pope who was well neere famished in *Rome*.

While the Duke was hasting on his way, mareschall *Strozzi* tooke *Ostia* with a Castle neere adioyning belonging to the Spaniardes, and likewise *Vico Valerio*, which was sacked, and the spoyle giuen to the Souldiers. As soone as the Duke of *Alua* and the marquesse of *Pescara*, the two cheefe commanders of the Spanish forces, vnderstood of the approach of the French, they forthwith left *Rome*, and retired the one towards *Naples* and the other towards *Millan*, so that nowe the Pope was almost set at libertie againe, sauing that the Duke of *Florence* did somewhat restrayne him: but hee fearing least hee should draw all the warre vppon himselfe, was willing to compounde with the French, who were now growne strong in *Italy*, & prospered maruailously: but many thought it would not be long, for that the Spanish king made verie great preparation, both to withstande the French abroad, and also for to finde them occupied at home, and the rather because a third armie vnder the leading of their Admirall *Chastillon*, gouernor of *Picardy*, inuaded *Arthoise*, waisting and spoyling the Countrey exceedingly. Thus was the league which was so solemnly sworne, and so necessary for all Christendome, broken againe by the sinister counsels of the *Guise*, and the warres beganne afresh betweene these two mightie Princes.

King *Phillip* being highly discontented with the French King for so many iniuries and indignities offered, hauing gathered a great army wherein was thirtie fife thousand footmen and twelue thousand horse, besides some eight thousand English, vnder the leading of the Earle of *Penbrooke*, purposed to besiege *Saint Quintines* in *Vermandoise*, which the Admirall *Chastillon* inspecting, putte himselfe within the Towne with such power as hee hadde in a readinesse, and fortified it as strongly as he could: the French king likewise prepared to withstande the Spanish inuasion, and hauing provided an hoste consisting



consisting of eighteen thousand footmen, Almaines and French, and some five or six thousand horse, sent the Constable of France to front the enemy, and to keepe him from entering into the fat fields of the *Flower de Lis*. But before this power could be in a readinesse, the prince of *Piemont*, generall of the Spanish forces, hadde invested Saint *Quinsins*, and planted his siege before the Towne, which he watched so narrowly, that it was impossible for any succours to enter, without apparant daunger. The Constable notwithstanding, espying a conuenient time, conuayed certaine troupes of footmen and horlemen into the Towne, vnder the fauour of a skirmish, maintained by the Duke of *Neuers*, and the Prince of *Condy*: which beeing performed hee began to retyre as not willing to hazard his fortune at that present: which at the first was not discerned by the Spanish. But after that the victuallers and pages of the French Campe perceiued the retrait of their Armie, and howe farre they were engaged, they beganne to runne after in great haste, and with theyr yelling and crying, gaue such euident prooffe to the enemy of their exceeding feare, so that the Count *Egmond*, who first discovered the French dismarch, hauing aduertised the prince, commaunded the trumpets to sounde *Dedans, dedans*, and with two thousand horse charged them on the side. The Count *Henry* and *Ernest* of *Brunswick*, each of them hauing a thousand, beeing backed with the Counte *Horne*, who hastened on with great fury, did likewise assaile them at one instant, who in their retyring turning head, receiued them with equall valour.

While the French were thus assailed in the flanke, the Count of *Mansteild*, *Dofrate*, and *Gneldres*, with three thousand horse ranne vpon them in the front, and that with such a furious feast, that hauing ouerthrowne theyr formost ranke, the rest were soone defeated and compelled to flie away. *John* of *Burbon* Duke of *Anzoleme* was dismounted at the first encounter, and beeing horsed againe, was slaine at the second. *Francis de la Tour* vicount of *Turin*, *Saint Gelais* and aboue a hundred and twentie Gentlemen of good account, beside sixe hundred common souldiers died at that battaile. The Constable beeing wounded in the hippes, was taken prisoner and brought to the Prince, and so were the Dukes of *Montpensier*, the mareschall *Saint Andrew*, *Lewis* prince of *Manfona*, the *Ringraue*, *Rochfancourt*, *Saint Heran*, *Burdillon*, *Mouy*, *Montsales*, and many other of the Nobilitie of great reckoning and reputation. There were also aboue three hundred Gentlemen of Mark taken prisoners, and many of the footmen beeing slaine, the rest were taken to mercy, and driuen away by troupes, as if they hadde beene flocks of sheepe, and presented to King *Phillip* with theyr ensignes and colours, as monuments of his glorious and triumphant victorie.

The King of France was wonderfully astonished with this ouerthrowe, and therather for that *Paris* (the cheefe Citie of his Realme) seemed to be straightly terrified, that sundrie of the principall Citizens beganne to flie, and to withdraw themselves towardes the vtermost bounds of the lande, fearing the coming of the enemy, who had now libertie to doo what hee listed. Howbeit hauing borrowed thirty thousand pounds of the Parisians, he presently hired fourteen thousand Switzers, and sent to the Duke of *Guyse*, who was in Italy,

nots perfect to repaire into France with all expedition, and to bring with him all the forces hee could make. Thus was the King driuen to an exigent, and hee who

not long before hadde sent the *Guyse* to any other men, was nowe glad to call him home againe to defende himselfe, who stood almost in a desperate state, and lay open to the inuasion of his enemies. In the meantime the King was earnestly busied in gathering of another Armie, sending out his proclamations into all quarters, fortifying *Paris*, and appoynting the Duke of *Neuers* (who by great happe escaped at *Saint Quintins*,) to bee his Lieutenant, and to empeach the enemye from entering any further into France.

The number of those who were called \* Hugonots began to increase, and were dispersed in a manner ouer all the lande, and because the affaires of the state went thus backward, & almost nothing prospered that was taken in hand, one of the principall men about the king, perswaded him that God was angrie and punished the land, for that such sects and heresies (as they termed them) were suffered to increase and multiplie in a manner without controlement, and that the King to pacifie the wrath of GOD, must take a more seuerer course in punishing such as were offenders heerein, who hadde beene the principall meanes to pull downe the wrath of God vppon the King, and the whole Lande. Whereuppon there immediatly ensued horrible cruelties towards the poore Hugonots, and infinite multitudes were putte to death in a short time, so that the rage of persecution grewe very great, supposing thereby as by an expiation, to turne away the hand of the almightie, which was so heauie vppon France; but they were exceedingly deceiued heerein, for by applying a wrong medicine, the disease dayly increased, and God seeing them wilfully repugne his truth, augmented theyr sorrowes more and more: for the Prince of *Piemont* did nowe more narrowly besiege *Saint Quintins* then before, and hauing strongly fortified his Campe, and stored himselfe with all conuenient necessities for to maintaine the siege, raised his mounts and planted 45. peeces of great ordnance, wherewith hee battered the walles in most furious maner.

† The admiral who was a very valiant, polittike and wise chieftaine, would not hearken to any composition, but repaying the breaches, resolved to keepe the place in despite of the enemye: the Prince on the other side plyed the battery, and hauing with much adoo made a sufficient breach, disposed his bandes, and gaue order for the assault: the first place was assigned to Captaine *Cazares* maister of the Campe, and to *Lazaro* Collonell of fiftene hundred *Almaines*. The second to Captaine *Nauarre*, with certain bandes of *Spaniards*, and to count *Meiue*, with his *Wallones*, the third to *Julian Romero* with 3. ensignes of *Spaniards*, & 2000. English: and the fourth to captain *Carronnellet*, with 3. ensignes of of *Burgonians*, all which beeing in a readines valiantly approached the wals. The Admirall had likewise determined how to receiue the enemye, and putting himselfe into that place where hee supposed most danger, with great hardinesse expecting the comming of the *Spaniards*: but there was not the like resolution on all hands, for the souldiours beeing discouraged with the late ouerthrow, and the inhabitants beeing timorous, as men not accustomed to such

such



such daungers, made small resistance, so that the enemy entered at his pleasure, which when the admiral to his unspeakable grief beheld, hee was enforced to seek to save himself, by yielding to a common souldier, who brought him to captain *Cazares*, by whom he was led prisoner to the prince. *Dandelot*, his brother was likewise taken, but he found the means to escape by a desperate adventure, to recover his liberty, *Irnac*, *S. Remy*, *La Gard*, *Cuzneux*, *Monlins*, *Bruell*, *Bretagne*, *Rambouillet*, *S. Romain*, *S. Andre*, *Linieres*, & *Soleil*, did likewise remaine prisoners; *Fayet le jeune*, *Salleuvert*, *Oger*, *Vignes*, *la Barre*, *Estrang*, *Geards*, and many other brave men were slaine. The whole towne was sacked, and spoiled, and a marvellous masse of wealth gotten, and caried into the low countries.

The admiral  
yeldeth him-  
self to a com-  
mon souldier.

long since  
I had not  
seen him

The French king, was all this while providing his forces, and devising by what means he might best make head against his enemy, fearing indeed the Prince would follow his good fortune, and proceed further into France by reason that he had sent the Count of *Frembar* with 1000. horse, and 3. regiments of Lancequenets, containing 14. ensignes, & 20. peeces of batterie, to besiege *Cassel*, a place of very great strength: yet was it soone taken by the enemy, the French not daring to abide the Canon, so exceedingly were they affrighted with their former losses. In the midst of all these mischiefs, there fell out one thing which turned to the great advantage of the French king, and brought no small hinderance to the Spanish kings proceedings, and that was the mutiny among the Almaines and Spaniards, who falling at dissention about their booties and spoiles gotten at *S. Quirins*, & the ransoms of their prisoners, were the occasion of much trouble and tumult in the army. Which when the French king understood, he practised in such maner with sundry of the Almain captains, that their oath being expired with King *Philip*, they were contented to be reclaimed by him, and to serve against the enemies of the *Flower de Lis*.

A mutiny in  
the Span-  
ish campe.

1558

By this time was the Duke of *Guise* come out of *Italie*, and being made the Kings Lieutenant, was sent with a strong power toward *Amiens*, with a secret commandement to enterprize against *Calice*, if occasion served. The duke finding the towne slenderly provided, suddenly planted his siege about it, and that in the midst of winter. And first assailed a fort called *Nienlay*, which was easily gayned. From thence he sent part of his army along the downes to *Rischan*, which he likewise tooke without any great resistance. The duke having gotten two principal places, & that in one day, planted his battery against the towne, wherein was governor the *L. Wentworth*: who seeing the unexpected successe of the French, & how fortune favored the D. in all his designs, disposed of all things as well as he might, and endeavored to remove the French out of their trenches; but that was impossible, for the duke was so strongly fortified, and had gotten such places of advantage, that he could not be forced by any means whatsoever. The duke having planted 15. Canons, began his battery against the old castle, & that with great fury. And for that the walls were ruinous, & easie to be pearced, the breach was soone made, & assault given, but the French were repulsed at the first, with the losse of their forwardst men: notwithstanding they being encouraged with their former successe, continued their enterprize, and at last gayned the Castell, which the Duke did forthwith cause to be strongly fortified. This was a very great losse to the English, for that from thence the French might shoote into the towne at their pleasure

The duke of  
Guise besieged  
Calice  
Commander  
of the towne

*Calice yeeld  
ed to the D.  
of Guise.*

Now was *Calice* narrowly besieged, and all passages were stopped in such fort, that it was impossible to conuay in any succours, or to send forth any to giue aduertisement of the distressed estate of the inhabitants. Which when the Lord Wentworth perceiued, and how that for want of necessaries, he was not able to keepe the towne any longer, he was content to parle with the Duke, and to yeeld vpon composition. Whereto the Duke of *Guise* willingly assented: so that after much debating on either side the towne was yeelded vpon condition, that the inhabitants might safely depart without impeachment whither they listed, and the lord Wentworth with diuerse others to the number of fiftie of the chiefeft, to remaine prisoners.

Thus was *Calice* in lesse then seuen daies recovered by the French (which had bin besieged by *Edward the third*, king of *England*, by the space of a whole yere, and which had remained in the English mens hands for the space of 210. yeres) to the incredible ioy of the French. And as it was lost vnder *Philip of Valois* the French King: so was it regained by the French, in the time of *Philip* king of *England*. The duke following his good fortune, did forthwith besiege *Guines*, wherein commaunded the valiant lord *Gray*, who albeir he did stoutly hold out for a time, abiding the planting of the Canon, and a furious assault, yet was he forced in the end to yeeld, and to resigne his officeto another man. Which when the garrison of *Hams* vnderstood, they abandoned the fort, & withdrew themselves to a place of greater securitie. The French king was not a little ioyfull to heare these newes: wherefore longing to see that, which he had so often wished and desired, he posted presently to visit his new conquered towne: whither he was no sooner come, but that he gaue order for the repairing and fortifying thereof, and leauing *Monsieur de Thermes* gouernor, withdrew himselfe againe towards *Paris*, commanding the *Guise* to besiege *Herbement*, a place of some importance: which was yeelded at the first summance. Thus did fortune begin to turne her countenance towards the French, and as it were alternatiuely, and by course fauour the Kings deligments.

*Francis the  
Dolphin of  
France marry  
eth Marie  
Queene of  
Scots.*

The French King intending to prosecute his wars against the Spaniards, thought it good policie to strengthen himselfe with some forrein alliance and therefore contriued a marriage betweene *Mary* the yong Queene of *Scots*, and *Francis* the Dolphin of *France*. Which mariage was solemnized at *Paris*, in most royall and magnificent maner, the 14. of Aprill 1558. About which time there began some motion to be made, as touching a peace betweene *Spaine* & *France*. The principal procurer whereof was the Lady Dutchesse and dowager of *Lorraine*, and cousin to King *Philip*. But by reason of sundry impeachments, there was nothing effected: so that the French king hauing all things in a readinesse, sent the Duke of *Guise*, accompanied with the Dukes of *Neuers*, & *Nemours*, the Mareschal *Strozzi*, and *Bourdillon*, with a great power to besiege *Theuennille*. Who making their approches, raised their mounts, planting their Ordinance, and beate the towne with 35. peeces of artillany. Which when Count *Horne* vnderstood, he marched thither in the dead of the night, with certain old bands of Spaniards, purposing to force the *Corps de gard* of the enemies: But the Count being nor able to effect that which he desired, by reason he found the French very strongly encamped, was forced to retire with losse of many of his men.

The



The Duke still plied his batterie, and for that he could not well discern whether the breach were reasonable or not, & what flankers remained to endamage the assailants: as also to see the countenances and resolution of the besieged, sent about midnight five hundred of his most hardy and best experienced souldiers, vnder the conduct of *Cypierre S. Estef, Mellas, Sarlabds, and Iaques*, to giue a false assault, with expresse commaundement not to aduance further, then onely to discouer the breach, vnlesse they should be drawne therto by some apparant aduantage: who approching the walles, and crying, scale, scale, as though they would haue giuen a generall assault, so terrified those who garded the breach, that part of them shrinking away for feare, and the rest not able to resist, gaue leaue to the French to ascende to the toppe of the Rampart, and had the souldiours followed theyr leaders, with equall courage, the towne had bene gayned at that instant. But the alarum being giuen, the French were soone repulsed, with the losse of many of their principall and most forward men: the besieged were much dismayed with this vnlooked for accident, and the remembrance of their manifold wants made them to doubte of the sequell of the siege, wherevpon *Caderobbe* who was gouernour of the towne, knowing he was not able to holde out for any long time, sent a trumpet to demaund a parle, offering to yeeld vpon reasonable conditions: which when the Duke had assented vnto, and the articles were fully agreed vpon, the place was giuen vnto the 22. of Iune 1558. vnto the French, who entered with great triumphs, and repairing the battered walles, made them as defensible as they could.

This and the like prosperous successe somewhat cheered the French nation, and made their name seeme terrible to the Spaniards, who had for a time bene exceedingly crossed in most of their affayres. But now the worlde beganne to change, & fortune which is euer instable, frowned vpon the French, by crossing the designs of *Monsieur de Termes*, the capitaine of *Calice*. Who desirous to doo some especiall seruice for his late preferment, inuaded the confines of *Flanders*, with an army of 9000. footmen, & 1500. horse, and by an assault tooke *Dunkirk*, leauing *Graueling* on his backe, with a purpose to enterprise against that also if oportunitie serued, and so passed forth hard vnto *Newport*, cruelly wasting with fire and sword, whatsoeuer was in his way. For the repressing of whose furious and barbarous rage, Count *Egmond* assembled a power of 12000. on foote, and 3000. horsemen: of whose approach when *Termes* was ascertained by his espials, he began to retire with al speed, being indeed not able to encounter with so strong and resolute an enemy: wherefore vsing the benefit of a low water, he marched away in the dead of the night along by the sea, hoping to deceiue the count, and to free himselfe from the danger of the Dutch. But the count *Egmond* vnderstanding of the retreat of the French, suspecting that they hasted to get out of his hands, crossed the country by a nearer way, and put himselfe between them and home, meeting them in the front not farre from *Graueling*. He was no sooner in view of the enemy, but he caused the signall to be giuen, & like a general of surpassing courage, went resolutely to the charge. The French who stood in a desperate state, receiued the shotte with equall valour: and at the first seemed to haue the better, committing maruellous slaughter with their great Ordinance vpon the formost ranckes of the Burgonians, whom when the French

The duke e.  
Guyse besieges  
geth Tbeons  
mille.

First of Nov  
ember.

Monsieur de  
Termes in-  
uades the  
low countries

Count Ego  
mont over-  
throweth  
de Termes,  
and taketh  
him prisoner.

saw so broken and dismembred, supposing the day had bin theirs, they cried out victorie, victorie. But this acclamation lasted not long: for the Count *Egmond* arriuing with a great Host of Reisters, and Flemings, so furiously charged the French launces, that they were wholly defeated and ouerthrowne.

*A strange  
chance.*

*The French  
K. mustreth  
new forces.*

Amids these bloody broils hapned a strange chance: for at the same time, certaine English ships pasing by, and descrying this encounter, made towards the shore, and with their shot beat the flanks of the French army, which on this side lay open to a full batterie: wherewith they being sore dismayed, and not able to indure the fight any longer, turned their backs and fled again. There were some 1500. slaine in that place. And the greatest number of such as escaped, were killed by the boores and women of the country who made hauocke of as many as fel into their hands. *Monsieur de Termes, D'annebault, Senarpont, Mercuiliers,* & sundry others of the principall captains remained prisoners. Moreouer they lost all their Ordinance, ensignes, munition, bag and baggage, and all their rich booties which they had gotten in Flanders. This sinister chance did not a little vex the French King, who fearing a further mischief if it were not timely preuented, sent forth presently for his Bannes & Arriebannes, with a straight commaundement to all his ordinance and men of armes, to assemble themselves at *Pierrepont* in as warlike maner as might be, there to attend his further pleasure, and to be in a readinesse to be employed as occasion should be offered.

1559

*Peace con-  
cluded be-  
tween France  
and Spaine.*

King *Philip* of *Spaine*, had likewise gathered a very strong power, and all things were provided by these two mightie Monarkes, as though they ment to determine all their controuerxies by some one cruel & bloody battell. But God who ruleth the hearts of princes, disposed of their intentions far otherwise then their blind affections led them. For vpo the sudden, their hard harts began to be mollified, and each party inclined to peace: so that the place being appointed, and the deputies on both sides agreed vpon, they met about the midst of October following at *Cercam*, betweene *Artoys* and *Picardy*. There were many complaints on both sides, and a commemoration of sundry indignities offered on either part. Each defended others doings, neither was there any likelihood of better agreement: so that after many contentious words, their assembly brake vp, without any cōclusion for peace: and yet, for that winter approched, & the soldiers were not able to keep the field, both princes dissolued their armies, and licenced their men of warre to repose themselves vntill the next yere. But before that time, by reason of new occurrences, there was a generall peace proclaimed betweene these two nations, & each linked with other with very strait alliances: For King *Philip* (whose wife *Mary* Queene of *England* was lately deceased) was coniented to take in marriage *Elizabeth* the eldest daughter of *Henry* the French King, and *Pilebert Emmanuel* duke of *Sauoy*, was affianced vnto madame *Margaret* his sister: so that by reason of these new cōiunctions, there insued much quietnes to all Christendome, but especially to these two kingdoms, who now had made an end of all their quarels & contentions, and seemed to study of nothing but how they might honor and solemnise in most royall maner these new marriages.

There was exceeding sumptuous preparation against the appointed time: all the Nobilitie of *France* were assembled at *Paris*, to attend the king, & to honor these espousals. The lady *Elizabeth* was cōducted by the king her father to our

Lady



Lady Church at the day prefixed in most pompous and stately maner, and there married by the Cardinall of *Burbon*, to the Duke of *Alva*, was who constituted Procurator of the king of *Spain* his maister. There were all the princes of the bloud attending in their order, and many cheefe Prelates, and all the officers of the crowne. The Duke of *Alva* was accompanied with the Prince of *Orenge*, Count *Egmond*, and sundrie other very honourable personages. The marriage being finished, there was exceeding feasting, banquetting, and cheering, with dauncing, masking, and all other pastimes that could be imagined, both to delight the eye and please the eare. The king reioyced to see his daughter so honourably aduanced: the Nobilitie and commonaltie were maruailously glad to remember what ease, peace, and tranquillitie they should enioy by this newe affinitie: and all sorts seemed to triumph, hoping there would be a perpetuall league and correspondency betweene these two Nations: but now behold a woful mishap and lamentable mischance, wherewith all this mirth and iollity was turned into weeping, wailing, and great sorrow: so enterchangeably doo these two accompany each other, & so certainly do they follow one another. The French king, who had bin the principall challenger at tilt, assisted by the Duke of *Guise*, *Alphonse* the Prince of *Ferrara*, and the Duke of *Nemours*, hauing borne himselfe very nobly that day, and broken many staues to his great honor and high commendation, would needes in the end run a course with count *De Mont-gommery* a valiant gentleman of *France*: who at the first refusing, yet commanded by the king accepted the condition, and offered so freely, that their staues flying in peeces, some of the shiners getting in at the sight of the beuer, pearced into the kings head, & greuously wounded him, that he died within eleuen daies after, to the immesurable greefe of his subiects, after hee hadde reigned twelue yeeres, three moneths, and tenne dayes.

*The Duke of Alva marries the daughter for his maister the king of Spain.*

*The French King slaine with running a course at tilt.*

## CHAP. VI.

*Francis the second the French King. The Guises authors of all the confusion in France.*

*The Guises ioyne with the Queene mother against the King of Nauarre. The King of Nauarre yeeldeth to the Queene mother. The Duke of Guise made Lieutenant for the King, and Henrie Cardinall of Lorraine, made L. Treasurer of France. They incense the King against the princes of the blood. The enterprise of the Lord of Renaudie. The hatred of the Guises towards the three Chastillons. The Prince of Conde beeing discontented, goeth from the Court. The order of the States of France. The Admirall presenteth the supplication of the Hugonots to the king. The Prince of Conde committed to prison, and is condemned to die. The death of the King.*



He Kingdome of *France* had for manie yeeres together, beene verie well acquainted with the variable and changeable estate of vnconstaunt fortune, and vnder *Charles* the eight. *Leuis* the twelfth, *Francis* the first, and *Henry* the seconde, had by wofull experience found; how subiect the most flourishing estates, kingdoms & comonwealths are to a continuall change and alteration: and therefore hauing by long obseruatiō perfidly learned, that the best means to maintain her selfe in her wonted grandeur and glory, was to be leagued with her neigh-

bour Countries, and to be at peace and vnitie at home, begonne to haue a flexible heart, and to encline to quietnesse as much as might bee: so that hauing ended all quarrels, and buried all wronges and indignities in the pit of obliuion, and by a neare coniunction with the Spanyard her ancient and mightie enemy, (in the opinion of most men) procured her selfe a perpetuall peace, began as it were, to clap her handes for ioy, and seriously to triumph in so incomparable a benefite. But the fatall and ineuitable mishap of this most noble kingdome, which had florished for so many hundred yeares, and had been the paragon of her neighbor nations, could not (as it seemeth) be auoyded, but that it must needs take place, and wanting forraigne enemies to worke her overthrow, must needs hatch a viperous brood, which by gnawing out the belly of their owne mother, haue most vnnaturally sought the destruction of her, who haue most tenderly fostered and brought them vp.

*The house of  
Guyse, the  
primerall  
cause of all  
the sturres in  
France.*

The principall cause to produce so lamentable an effect, and the only means in a maner to hatch so horrible a mischief, was the immeasurable ambition of that haughtie and aspiring house of *Guyse*: who albeit they were straungers, and no natural French men, yet fortune so fauoured their attempts, and made some of them so gracious with their soueraignes, that they did not only contend for the superioritie with the greatest Princes of the blood, but at length (as ambition hath neuer any end) strived with their liege Lords; and through their rebellious counsels and most trayterous plottes, assisted by a multitude of Guyfards and Hispaniolized French, draue their soueraigne Lord out of his chiefe Citie: and not contented to offer so great indignitie to so mightie a potentate, neuer left practising, vntill they had most wickedly murdered him, whose life in all dutie should haue beene vnto them more precious then their owne: and with their diuellish forceries, haue so bewitched and sotted sundry of the French nation, that at this day, to their perpetuall shame and ignominy, they will not be reduced vnto any dutifull obedience vnder their most lawfull and liege Lord.

*Francis  
Duke of  
Guyse, and  
Charles Card  
dinal of Lorrain, the two  
fire-brands of  
France.*

One of the most notorious plotters of so many mischiefs, was *Francis* Duke of *Guyse*, who with his brother *Charles* Cardinall of *Lorraine* (as proud, subtil, and as ambitious a prelate as euer was) grew to that height, through the benefite of their good fortune, that they commanded all *France*; and brought the greatest Princes of that nation to be their vnderlings: and by reason of a mariage between *Francis* the second, with *Mary* the yong Queene of Scottes their neece, they bare themselves so loftely, and so egerly stroue to aduance their house, that they turned all *France* topsy turvy, so chaunging the gouernment and altering the state, that it seemed in a short time to be a meere *Chaos*, and confusion. For after the death of *Henry* the secōd, and that *Francis* his sonne was crowned King, these two so craftily handled the matter, that ioyning with *Katherine de Medices*, the Queen mother of *France*, (who contrary to the auncient lawes and ordinances of that Realme, which permit not women to rule, sought to haue the gouernment of the yong King, and to exclude *Henry* of *Burbon* King of *Nauarre*, and chiefe Prince of the blood) after infinite troubles to themselves, and vnspeakable misery to their owne Country, they gat the gouernment into their hands, and swayed euery thing after their owne likings.

And albeit the state of that kingdome had begun long before to be much af-

flicted,



afflicted, and through the horrible persecutions of those whom they termed *Huguenots*, marvellously decayed and weakened, by reason of a secret diuision bred in the hearts of infinit multitudes, who once dissenting in Religion, could neuer after well agree in matters of state: yet was the land at peace within it selfe, and euery one seemed to be enclinable to their princes pleasure, choosing rather to endure any affliction, then by seeking to defend their liues and liberties by force of armes, to bring in any intestine warres, the most deuouring plague and sharpest punishment of all other: but after that the house of *Guyse* began to rule, and that their factious deuises cloaked with a zeale of mainteining the Catholicke cause, had once stirred the coales, the flame presently brake forth, and finding conuenient matter to nourish it withall, spread it selfe in a short time ouer the face of the whole kingdome of *France*, to the consuming of infinite multitudes of all sorts, and the extreame impouerishing of the whole land.

There were sundry and diuers meanes to hasten this so wonderfull and lamentable alteration in *France*, but the principall of all other, was the vnexpected death of the late King, who albeit hee verie severely punished all such as were accounted Protestants, and that principally at the instigation of the house of *Guyse*, yet did he so politickely carry himselfe, that during his raigne, he kept that ambitious monster in some reasonable good order, and the whole lande from tumult and rebellion: but he was no sooner dead, but that all things beganne to hasten to a confusion, and the whole common wealth to bee dangerously infected with sundry fearefull diseases, the originall whereof arose in this maner.

*The Queens mother, the King of Navarre and the Duke of Guyse, contended for the gouernment during the minority of the King.*

In the beginning of the reigne of *Francis the second*, being but sixteene yeares olde, there grewe a controuersie betweene *Katherine de Medices* the Kings mother, *Henry of Bourbon* King of *Navarre*, and *Francis of Lorraine*, Duke of *Guyse*, touching the gouernment of the young King during his nonage. The Queene-mother alledged many reasons to strengthen her claime, as the lawes of Nature, which would that the mother should haue the bringing vp of her children, as one hauing a most tender care ouer them, and most willing of all others to doo them good, the customes and vsages of sundry nations, and the auncient order of the lande, which made the mother *Gardien* of her childe: and so by consequent gaue her the Regency of the kingdome. The king of *Navarre* on the contrary affirmed, that he ought in right to be gouernour of the young king, for that he was the next Prince of the blood, and nearest of kinne vnto him: besides that there were fundamentall lawes of that nation, which did not only shut out all straungers, (by whom he vnderstood the house of *Lorraine* and of *Guyse*), but also disabled the Queene-mother, by reason of her sexe, which the *Salique* lawe did expressly exclude from all regency, and succession to the Crowne. The Duke of *Guyse* had also diuers reasons for the aduancing of his owne title: as that hee was the Kings vnckle: that by his seruice the whole state had bene in a manner maintained, and the land from sundry imminent perilles delivered. Besides he excepted no sort against the king of *Navarre*: for that hee and his brother the Prince of *Conde*, gaue euident tokens of their liking of the Gospel, and their hatred of the

the

the Romish Religion: so that if *Nauarre* should haue the gouernement of the King, it was to bee feared (saide hee) that the whole lande would fall into heresie.

Thus did these three contende with might and maine for the superi-  
rite, each of them deuising al the reasons they could imagine for the furtherance  
of their cause.

*The Queene  
mother and  
D. of Guise,  
ioine together  
against Na-  
uarre.*

But in the ende, the Queene Mother, and the Duke of *Guise* doub-  
ting that they should not bee able nor sufficient to preuaile, and also lea-  
ring least that the King of *Nauarre* (by reason of the great preheminance and  
authoritie that the princes of the blood should by right haue, besides his  
iust tyle) should in the ende preuaile and get the better agaynst them  
both, thought it best to ioyne together agaynst the King of *Nauarre*, and  
eyther by force, or by policie and fayre meanes to winne him vnto their willes,  
and by some deuise or other to make him surcease from his iust claime, and  
interest.

The better to effect this, the Duke of *Guise* seysed vpon the king,  
whome hee conducted and brought to the Loure in *Paris*, with the yong  
Princes his Brethren, and with the two Queenes, leauing the Princes  
of the blood, the Conestable, the Marechall, the Admirall, and fundrie  
other noble and great personages attending vpon the dead Corps of the late  
king *Henrie*.

Whenthey hadde preuailed in their purpose thus farre, then was there  
such watch and warde kept about the King, that no man might speake vnto  
him, but in the presence of some of the Guises: and the matter was so well  
handled in the ende, that the Cardinall and the Duke of *Guise* ruled and go-  
uourned all things, and haddethe king in a manner at their will and comman-  
dement.

Then beganne they to bring into the kings Councell men of their owne  
faction, and to procure the kings displeasure vnto such as they disliked.  
The rulers and gouernours of the Cities, Townes, and Prouinces were at  
their appointment: the Princes of the blood were employed in busines far from  
the Court.

The Prince of *Condé* was sent into *Flanders* to treate of the league made  
betweene *France* and *Spain*: the king of *Nauarre*, the Cardinall of *Bu-bon*,  
and the Prince *De la Roche sur Ton* were sent to conduct the kings Sister into  
*Spain*.

There were many deuises and fetches to mooue the king of *Nauarre* to  
giue ouer his claime and title which hee made to the Regencie of the yong  
King, and many faire promises were procured out of *Spain*, conditionally that  
he would so doo.

*The proude  
letters of the  
K. of Spain.*

And among others there were letters sent to that purpose, wherein the  
Spanish king promised that if he would be ruled herein, he would restore him  
the kingdome of *Nauarre*, of which he held nothing but the title: auerring fur-  
ther, & that very Imperiously, & with threatening words, that if he did other-  
wise, he would take vpon him the protection of his brother in law himself, and  
spend



spend all that euer he had, yea, his owne life and the liues of fortie thousand others, whom he had in a readinesse in maintaining the quarrell.

Thus partly with faire promises, and partly with threats, the King of *Nauarre* began to be cold, and in a manner quiet, and cleane to giue over the matter. When the *Guyse* perceiued this, then did he proceede further, hauing the countenance of the yong King, and being backed so strongly with the Spanish king, so that nowe hee put out and in whome hee listed, and incroched vpon the offices of other men: hee would not sticke to meddle with the Conestableness and great maister of *France*, arrogating that vnto himselfe which of right belonged vnto others. The high courts of Parliament were full of his followers, and whom soeuer he suspected not to fauour his designs, these were by some one sinister information or other, presently disgraced, insomuch as those fewe good men that were in place, considering the rough handling, and seuerer visage of sundry well affected persons, and the small good that ensued by complaining vnto the King, were content to be silent, and not to meddle in such dangerous times.

*The king of Nauarre giveth over his claime.*

*The pride of Guyse.*

The Cardinall of *Guyse* was appoynted ouer the Kings finances: the Duke of *Guyse* his brother was made Lieutenant generall, and had the direction of all matters appertaining vnto the warres, and all Captaines, gouernors of townes, and other officers were commanded to obey him, as the King himselfe. Thus hadde these two gotten the sole authoritie into their hands, and although the Queene mother was at the first the meanes to procure them so great place, and to make them so neere about the king, yet not long after shee repented her thereof, and sought many waies to curb them, and to keep them as short as shee might: yet shee beeing a most vncertaine and inconstant woman, and euer inclining to the worst, still rather held with them, then with the princes of the blood, who beganne to waxe wearie of the intollerable pride of the *Guyse*, and the burning, murthering, and iniurious dealing of that bloody house. The *Guyse* no sooner suspected that their hearts were alienated, but that hee studied day and night howe to ouerthrow them, and to cause the King to embrew his handes in the blood of his owne kinred. While these mischiefes werethus in plating, and many outragious parts plaied tending to the strengthening of this factious house, and the viter ouerthrow of the ancient Nobilitie of *France*, infinite multitudes grewe maruailous discontented, and both by word and writing shewed theyr mislike of the present gouernement, exclaiming against the sore persecutions of those of the reformed Religion, and the intollerable wronges and iniuries offered vnto sundrie of the Kings best affected subiects.

*The Cardinall of Guyse made Lord treasurer, and the Duke his brother Lieutenant generall for the King.*

There were many supplications presented vnto the Queene mother, to the King of *Nauarre*, and others of greatest place & authoritie, tending to the reformation of these miseries, but they were little or nothing regarded: for the Queene mother fauoured not the Protestants in her heart, though often in the beginning made some shewe thereof, and gaue some helpe to the persecuted Hugonots. The King of *Nauarre* was timorous, and would not prosecute the cause with such a courage as hee ought to haue done: besides, hee was besotted with the perswasions of regaining the kingdome of *Nauarre*, if hee would still remaine a Catholike: which conceiued hope so sticke in his mind and made

*The Guyse setteth the King against the princes of the blood.*

so deepe an impression in the bottome of his heart, that of a zealous and earnest professour, hee became key cold, and in the ende proued a bitteremie to the cause: so that the Guyse did still what they listed, and no redresse was to bee expected, for new Edicts & proclamations were made, & those more seuerer then before: such as were knowne or suspected to be Protestants, were apprehended, & either forced to recant, or else were burned. This barbarous vsage of so many natural Frenchmen, & outrageous crueltie towards all sorts, bred by little & little a commiseration in the hearts of sundry, in whom thereremained some sparks of humanitie, so that banding together & opposing themselues against the proceedings of that time, they endeouored by al possible meanes to reforme the common wealth, & reduce the decayed estate to some better order: and albeit that sundrie personages had shewed their liking of a reformation, as the K. of *Nauarre*, the Prince of *Conde*, the constable, the Admirall, *Dandelot*, & many others, yet no man attempted, but strained courtesie (as it were) who should begin: which procrastinating sundry of good place not beeing able to endure any longer, combined themselues together, hauing for the principall and ringleader of their actions, one called *Godfray de Berry*, Lord of *Renaudy*, a wife, valiant & wel experienced Gentleman, who notwithstanding without the aduise of six counsellors, and 20. captaines, might not attempt anything.

*The Lord of  
Renaudy  
with sundry  
others attempt  
against the  
Guyse.*

This companie consisting of meere pollicicks in the beginning, and such as sought for nothing but a reformation in the common weale, were in proceesse of time assisted by a multitude of those who were termed Hugonots (as it is the maner of discontented persons, how different so euer the occasion be, to ioyne together in hope of fortunes accidents) who allied themselues with the rest, the more willingly, for that it was in a ciuill cause, and such a thing as tended to the honour of the King, and generall good of the whole state.

*Monsieur de Renaudy* hauing acquainted many of good account with this great and waightie enterprise, as the Baron *Chastellnay*, Captaine *Mazeres*, *Vailly*, *Bréssay*, *Chefnay*, *Chiray*, *S. Mary*, *Coquenille*, *Chateaufort*, and sundrie others, resolved with all possible speed in as close and secret maner as might be, to draw neere the Court, which was then at *Amboise*, and on the sodaine with some fiftie hundred Gentlemen, to seise vpon the *Guyse* and the Cardinall of *Lorraine* his Brother, and hauing once caught them to put them to death for an exemplarie punishment to all other seducers of the King, and disturbers of the common wealth. This enterprise could not bee so closely kept but that it came to the eares of the Guyse: who vnderstanding after sundrie examinations, the drift and scope of the whole proiect, and howe that most of those who had complotted together, hadde long since shaken off the Popes yoake, deuised straight to publish so notable a conspiracie, and to make it seeme as odious as might bee to the eyes of all men: they declared howe that they of the reformed Religion had conspired against the king, the Queene mother, the kings brethren and Princes of the blood, & sought to bring in their doctrine by force, to ouerthrow the monarchie of *France*, and to reduce it to a popular estate and gouernement, and by depriuing the king of his crowne, to pull downe the church, to root out the ancient Catholike faith, & to infect the whole land with all kinde of impietie and irreligion, and hauing by sundry proclamations declared

*The enter-  
prise of the  
Lord of Re-  
naudy discou-  
ered.*



declared the hainousnesse of the fact, fearing that a matter of such consequence was not attempted without the priuie of some great ones in the land: they fortified themselves very strongly, mustered souldiers, gathered forces, and gat all things in a readinesse, to withstand any attempt that should be made vppon the sodaine.

Being thus provided, they soorthwith apprehended such as they suspected, and proceeded against them with all rigour. Many of them who were taken were executed, and the rest committed to seuerall prisons, sauing some few that by their good fortune escaped their hands. At length diuers of the meaner sort were set at libertie, fearing (indeede) that if all should bee punished, so great seueritie would alienate the hearts of many, who were nothing well affected alreadie. And although that the King of *Nauarre*, the Prince of *Conde*, the Admirall nor *Dandelot* could bee charged with the maintaining or abetting of anie of these attempts, yet did the Guyes strongly suspect them, and especially the three Chatillons, whom of all other they feared most: notwithstanding, they thought it good pollicie to giue them faire speeches for the time, and to entertaine them in all plausible maner, vntill they had gotten their forces about them, and had provided a strong armie in a readinesse: which was no sooner performed, but they began to speake bigg words, and to deale more roughly: and first of all they dealt with the Prince of *Conde*, who was commanded not to depart the Court without licence, while in the meane time they practised to catch matter against him, and to that purpose sundrie with faire promises and rewardes were suborned to proue him the cheefe of that seditious tumult at *Ambosse*. They daily whispered in the Kings eare, that so long as *Conde* were at libertie, and suffered to countenance such as alreadie were discontented with the present gouernement, the whole land would neuer bee at quiet, nor the kings person in safetie, as appeared by the last rebellious and tumultuous practise. The onely way to preuent so many and so great mischiefes, was to bring the Prince to his answere, and by apprehending the ringleaders, to keep the meaner sort in order and due obedience. Whereupon the king beeing by these sinister informations mightily incensed against the Prince, commaunded *La Trousse*, the steward of his house, to attach sundrie of his seruants and to haue them in safe keeping, and to commaund the prince himselfe to come vnto his presence the next morrow: and to the ende there might be some matter found against him, his house was searched, and all his papers ransacked: the Guyes hadde also sent to search the Chamber and study of the king of *Nauarres* Secretarie, hoping that something would bee founde to minister matter against these great personages: for nowe they might do what they listed, seeing the king approoued whatsoever they did, and did speake as it were with theys tongues.

As soone as the Prince was informed of the kings pleasure, he readily obeyed, and comming before him, did so cleare himselfe, and answered with such courage and alacritie, that it was thought good to dismisse him for that present, without any further triall: whereupon the king shewed him very good countenance, and the Guyes seeing the time serued not to accomplish what they had purposed, cloked all in as couert maner as might bee, and each departed from

*The three  
Chatillons  
of all other  
most hated  
the Guyes.*

*The Guyes  
incense the  
King against  
the Prince of  
Conde.*

*The Prince  
of Conde  
brings his  
fare the king.*

*The Prince  
of Conde leas-  
eth the  
court and  
goeth to the  
King of Na-  
varre.*

from other as good friendes. But the Prince seeing his life was sought for, thought it wisdom to looke to himselfe, and for that long since he fauoured the Gospel, he supposed it to be best to go to his brother the King of Navarre, where he should be out of all danger, and might vse his conscience freely. Many wondered at this strange dealings with the Princes of the bloud, saying, that if they could not liue without perill of their liues, that it would shortly come to passe, that all true and naturall Frenchmen should bee accounted enemies, and no man bee in securitie but the house of Guise and Lorrayne, who being but strangers themselues, durst notwithstanding attempt such practises against the kings best affected subiects, as were in no sort to bee endured. Heereupon great rumors were raised, and infinite multitudes grew greued with these iniurious proceedings.

*The Admi-  
rall sent into  
Normandy  
to pacifie the  
Country,*

*The cause  
of the discon-  
tentment in  
France,*

To preuent the mischiefes that might ensue hereof, the Queenemother with the rest of the Kings counsell, sought by amiable letters and smoth words, to content such as most complained, and where they did feare most danger, whether did they send such as were most gracious with the people, to keepe them in their obedience. The Admirall, who for his wisdom, integritie, and experience in all politike affaires, was not inferiour to any of that age, was sent into Normandy, where there was thought to bee the greatest number of discontented persons, with a straight commaundement to consider of all good meanes, for the quiet of the land, and freely to signifie vnto the court, the occasions of their dislike, and the best way how to reforme those things which were amisse: which he from time to time very faithfully performed, aduertising the Queenemother, that the cruell handling of those of the reformed Religion, and the iniurious dealing with all such as seemed to fauour them, or any waies to countenance them, and that vnder an vnlawfull authoritie, vsurped by strangers, without the approbation of the Princes of the bloud, and the cheefe officers of the land, and that while the King was in his minoritie, to the great prejudice of the Realme and dishonour to the Crowne of France, was the cause of so many mischiefes, and was like still to draw on more dangerous consequents, if there were not some speedie course taken to preuent them. Many such aduertisements were sent from all quarters, and sundrie euident signes appeared of ciuill warres. Whereupon it was thought good to assemble all the Princes of the bloud, the Nobilitie, the officers of the Crowne, and all men of place and authoritie, to devise of the meanes how to pacifie these troubles, which were

*The assembly  
of the States,*

likely to ensue: which when the Guises vnderstood, albeit they liked not to heare of the assemblee of the States, and therefore inwardly hated this motion of the Admirall and the Chancellor, from whom it especially proceeded, yet were they outwardly contented therewith, hoping by this meanes to draw the King of Navarre, the Prince of Conde, the constable and others to the Court, who otherwise could not so easily bee come by, and then to rule them well enough: assuring themselues that the greatest multitude of the Knights of the order, and others of the Nobilitie which should bee there assembled, were at their deuotion, and therefore that nothing could passe in prejudice of them, but rather that all should tende to theyr further profit and advancement. This resolution being taken, sommonances were sent into all quarters, and particular letters



letters written to the king of *Nauarre*, to request him to come to the Parliament, which was assigned at *Fountainbleau*, & to bring his brother the Prince of *Conde* with him. But when the *Guises* had with more maturitie of iudgement considered of this weightie subiect, fearing that if *Nauarre*, *Conde*, and the Constable, with all their adherents should meete together, they should bee ouermatched, and not be able to make their partie good, they practised with *Descars* the Lord Chamberlain, & *Bouchart* the Chancelor, two of *Nauarres* principal seruants, and those indeed vpon whose counsels he principally relied, corrupting them with great summes, and promising them mountaines, if they would vse the means to dissuade the K. their master from that assembly. Which two, put so many suspicious matters into *Nauarres* head, and vsed such forceable reasons to diuert him from his intended voyage, that notwithstanding the earnest intreaty of the Constable hee would not bee induced to be at the Parliament at the time appointed, which treacherous counsell of theirs, gaue such a blow vnto the whole realm of *France*, that it feelerh the smart therof vntil this day. For *Nauarre* being withheld by this their wicked aduise, the whole gouernement still remained in the hands of the *Guises*, who fortified themselues more and more to their owne aduancement, and the extreame perill of the whole state.

The day prefixed being come, there presented themselues most the greatest personages which had bin summoned, so that the 21. of August 1559. this honorable cōpanie were assembled in the chamber of the Queene mother, and every one placed according to their degrees. First the K. vnder his cloth of estate, then the Queene mother, the kings wife, & the kings brethren. Next to these were the Cardinals of *Burlem*, of *Lorraine*, of *Guise*, of *Chastillon*. The Dukes of *Guise* and *Aumale*, duke *Memorancie* Constable of *France*, *Monsieur d'Hospital* the Chancellor, the two Mareschals, *S. Andrew*, & *Bressac*, *Chastillon* the Admiral of *France*, *Marillac* the Archbishop of *Vienna*, *Morbillier* Bishop of *Orleanse*, *Mouluc* bishop of *Valence*, *Mortier* and *Anancon*, all of the Kings priuie Councell. The Knights of the orders, the masters of the requests, the secretaries, and the rest of the kings officers had likewise their places assigned them. All things being disposed after this maner, before any were commaunded to speake, the Admirall rose vp, and with a Supplication in his hand went to the king, to whom (after due obeisance done) hee declared, that according to his Maiesties commandement at his going into *Normandie*, hauing as diligently as hee could looked into the causes of these troubles which sprung vp dayly in the land, hee in his opinion coniectured, that such as found themselues most greeued, intended no harme against his royall person, or the state, but that their greatest discontentment arose of the extreame persecutions of such, as were termed *Hugonots*, without any iudicial manner of proceeding: especially seeing they offered to haue their doctrine tried by the scriptures, and were willing to conformance themselues to the order of the primitive church, & therefore he thought it a thing very agreeable to his maiesties liking, to take their humble petition, and present it vnto his highnesse, to the end that he vnderstanding their grief, might deuise with his counsell in so honorable a presence, some speedymeans to relieue his distressed subiects, & to set his kingdom in some better quiernes, assuring him, that in his opiniō, there were infinit multitudes in *France* p̄sighed after a reformatiō, seeing that were, as he was told,

*The treacherous counsell of Descars & Bouchart,*

*The King of Nauarre would not bee as the counsell of estate,*

*The order of the estates of France, as they sit in their Parliament,*

*The Admirall presenteth the supplication of the protestants to the King.*

fiftie thousand in *Normandie*, who would willingly haue subscribed vnto that supplication. And so beseeching the King to haue some regarde hereof, and fauourably to enterpret that which he had done, with humble reuerence he returned to his place. When as this supplication was read, & the contents vnderstoode, whereof some were that there might bee publike places appointed for the Protestants to meet in, and that their preachers might be permitted to teach the people without perill, many wondred at this bold part of the Admirall, considering the manifest daunger hee had cast himselfe into, by taking the cause of such odious persons into his hande, and present it vnto the K. who was so exasperated agaynst them. The King seemed to take this action of the Admirall in verie good part, giuing him verie gracious wordes, and an honourable testimonie of his good seruice, commanding every one to speake his opinion in order, and as the case required.

In this assembly there were three which spake excellently to the purpose, laying open vnto the viewe of all men the naked truth: and as men resolute in their countries cause, not daunted with the faces of any, openly reprobued that course which was taken in the administration of the Common-wealth, and the affaires of the land. And those were *Mouluc* Bishop of *Valence*, *Marillac* the Archbishop of *Vienna*, and *Chastillon* the Admirall. The eloquent speech of *Mouluc*, did somewhat warme the *Guises*; and *Marillac* with his hardie and learned discourses, did make them as hote as a toast. Both concluding, that to preuent so many miseries as were likely to ensue, it were conuenient to assemble a generall Councell: or if that could not be accomplished, then to referre the deciding of those controuersies to a nationall Councell, and in the meane time to deale more mildely with such as were of the reformed religion. But when the Admirall came to speake, he made them starke mad, hee so touched them to the quicke. For hauing first approoued that which had beene sayde by *Mouluc*, and *Marillac*, he insisted vpon the new garde which the *Guises* had set about the king which (said he) was a matter of perillous consequence, to nourish the K. in a diffidence and euill opinion of his subiects, and in time might draw on the hatred of the people towards their prince, who seeing themselves suspected, wold be suspicious againe, seeing their king and souereigne armed against them, and in stead of free access, to impart vnto him their griefes and doleances, to be vtterly seclused from his presence, by a multitude of armed souldiours. And for his part he could not conceiue what reason there was, why the French king should be so guarded: for he wold pawne his honour, his goods, yea, and his life to, that there was no harme meant against his person. If any of his principall Officers were afrayed of themselves, it were good to cut off all occasions of offence, which arose especially of the disordered gouernment of such as had the managing of the publike affayres.

The Duke of *Guise* was in an extreame rage with the Admirall for these speeches, and from that day forward grew to be his mortall enimie. And albeit that hee and the Cardinall his brother, laboured to crosse these good motions before remembred: yet was it agreed vpon by the King, with the assent of all the Nobilitie, that there should be another assembly of the estates at *Meaux*, and there these points to be more fully resolued of: and in the meane time that every one

*Mouluc, Marillac, & the Admirall worthy of immortal praise for their free speech.*

*The Admirall toucheth the Guises to the quicke.*

*The duke of Guise highly offended with the Admirall.*



one should repaire into their Countries, to learne the state of them, the better to acquaint the King at the next assembly with their plaints. While these things were thus in handling, there were many enterprises of the Mal-contents, tending to the surprising of sundry townes: which occasioned the *Guises* to lend out proclamation in the Kings name, and to leuie souldiours, to withstand (as they laid) the attempts of the seditious, and perturbers of the state. But the truth was, that hauing their forces in a readinesse, they might send on the sodaine for the Prince of *Conde*, who was still with his brother the King of *Nauarre*: and if hee would not come, then to fetch him by force. But first they assayed after a milde manner, to accomplish their deuises, causing the king to write vnto *Nauarre*, in friendly sort to request him to come to the Court, and to bring his brother *Conde* with him, or otherwise hee shoulde bee compelled to fetch him, for that there were so many, and so euident accusations agaynst him. But *Nauarre*, and the Prince answered so wisely, and with such courage, that their enemies thought it not good to attempt any thing agaynst them by violence. Whereupon they caused the king to sende an other Messenger, by whome they were required to come to his Maiestie, assuring them in the worde of a Prince, that there should no iniurie bee offered them, but that they shoulde returne at theyr pleasure: onelie hee desired to bee satisfied from the Prince of *Condes* owne mouth, touching such matters as hee was charged with: *The Guises cause the K. to falsifie his worde.*

1560

Whereupon, these two Princes relying vpon the kings saythfull promises, repayed to the Court, whither they were no sooner come, but that the Prince of *Conde* was committed to *Chanigrie*, Captaine of the garde, and by him clapt vppe in prison, where no man might speake vnto him. The king of *Nauarre* had no further libertie, then to walke from his owne Chamber to the king, and no man might speake with him but such as pleased the *Guise*. *The Prince of Conde committed to prison.* who set spyes enough about him, to obserue his doings. The mother in Lawe likewise of the Prince of *Conde*, and Sister to *Chastillon* the Admirall, was sent to prison, and verie narrowlie looked vnto. Her Closet and all her house was ryfled, to find some matter agaynst her: This rough dealing with the chiefe Princes of the blood, and other such of great qualitie and calling, made many muse what would be the issue of such outrageous designs.

The Prince had not beene long committed to prison, but there was a priest sent vnto him to say Masse in his Chamber. But hee commaunded him to be thrust out by the heade and shoulders, willing him to tell the King that hee would not suffer any such idolatrous seruice in his presence: as also that hee would not to saue his life offende the Maiestie of God in so high measure. *The Prince thrusteth a Masse priest out of his doores by the head and shoulders.*

VVhen his enemyes had gotten this aduantage agaynst him, they so incensed the King, that he forthwith commanded his procelle to bee drawne, and sentence of death to be pronounced against him, with commaundement to hasten the execution as speedily as might bee. But while they were earnestlie busied about this matter, and thought euen now to haue attayned to the full period of their desires, the king fell dangerously sick of an vicer, growing in his ear, which increasing more & more, & the physicians despairing of his recovery, *The prince condemned to die. The K. falleth sicke.*

*The death of the French King.* the Princes execution, (which should haue beene the morrow following) was respited for a time, vntill they saw what would become of the king, who euerie day waxing worle and worle, notwithstanding all the meanes that could be deuised by the *Guises*, their solemne vowes to the saints in Paradice, & their publike processions, with earnest praiers for his helth: yet he died the fift day of December, 1560. after he had reigned 17. moneths, to the exceeding grief of the Catholiks, & the great terror of the D. of *Guise*, and the Cardinall his brother, who had caried themselves so proudly and arrogantly during all the time of his reigne, that they were extreemly hated of all that were of any vertuous and humble disposition, and therefore were now maruellously afraid, least they should endure some scourge for their former outrageous doings, and that horrible confusion which they had brought into the Common-wealth.

*The horror of the Guises.*

## CHAP. VII.

*Charles the ninth, the French King: the Prince of Conde set at libertie. The discontentment of the Princes of the blood. The King of Nauarre made the Kings Lieutenant. The Constable bandeth with the Guises. The King of Nauarre forsaketh the Protestants. The Triumuirat. The murder at Valsie. The beginning of the first ciuill warres. The death of the King of Nauarre. Dandelot bringeth forces out of Germanie for the succour of the Protestants. The battell of Dreux. Poltrot killeth the Duke of Guise. Peace proclaimed.*

1561

*The Prince of Conde set at libertie.*



*Rancie* the second was no sooner deceased, and that *Charles* the ninth was come to the Crowne, but all seemed to bee cast in a new mould: especially the state of the Prince of *Conde*, was incontinently altered: for whereas before hee was accused and condemned of high treason, and should haue beene executed, had not the malicious purposes of his enemies beene crossed, by the sudden death of the King: now he was cleared of all the former accusations, and declared innocent of those pretended crimes, and restored to his dignitie and place. The *Guises* his mortall enemies beganne in all submisse maner to seeke his sauour, and neuer left the Queene mother, vntill shee had accomplished theyr desyres: which was the more readilie brought to passe, for that they had caused the late King, a day or two before to speake louingly vnto the King of *Nauarre*, and to affirme that the *Guises* neuer attempted any thing, eyther agaynst him, or his brother, the Prince of *Conde*: but that whatsoeuer was done, was at his commaundement, and that contrarie to theyr counsaile and aduice, hee had caused the saide Prince to bee imprisoned: and therefore hee desired them, for the loue they bare vnto him, that they woulde not conceyue hardly agaynst them, or anie of theirs.

Albeit *Nauarre* did not beleue this, yet as one loath to raise new stirs, he was content to temporise & dissemble the matter, supposing in deed, that now their pride was abated, and that they would no more carrie themselves so hautily as they had done in times past. But they no more able to change their natures, then the



When the Leopard her spots, still aspired to haue the gouernment in their hands: and it seemed the Queene mother was well content to giue them some countenance, fearing that if they should bee altogether kept vnder, by the Princes of the blood, her authoritie would likewise in short time be limited: which was a thing that shee could not endure by any meanes. Which being noted by the King of *Nauarre*, hee complained to the Queene mother, that those of *Guise* were againe too much fauored, and that they had too great countenance, being preferred before him, who was the chiefeest Prince of the blood, and who by the ancient lawes ought to haue the gouernment of the Realme, during the nonage of the King: and that he could not endure to see them aduanced, who had alwayes beene his mortall enemies. And although he were contented to beare much in regard of the loue and durie he bare vnto her, yet there was no reason why his kindnesse should be so hardly requited. And if it were, he woulde not endure it: and further, if the duke of *Guise* were so neare about the King, he must and would be further of.

*The King of Nauarre complains to the Queene mother, of the Guises.*

*The Princes of the blood depart from the Court greatly discontented.*

The Queene mother sought to content *Nauarre* with faire wordes, but yet she did not satisfie him as he desired: and therefore the next day, hee with most of the Princes of the blood, the Conestable, his sonnes and Nephewes of *Chastillon*, departed from the Court towards *Paris*, highly discontented with the Quenes answer. The Queene mother, who extremely greeued to see this accident, sent for the Conestable to come and speake with her: to whom she caused the King to say, and that in the presence of two Secretaries of estate, who were readie to recorde what was spoken, that seeing hee was the chiefe Officer of the Crowne, and one of whose presence hee stood in neede of at that instant, he commanded him not to forsake him, as he would answer it at his perill. Which word tooke such place, and made such an impression in the Conestables minde, that albeit hee were often summoned by the King of *Nauarre*, to stand to his promise, yet he could not be drawne from the Court, but kept him stil with the King: wherupon it was presently voiced, that the Queene mother maintained the *Guises* against the King of *Nauarre*, and the rest of the Princes of the blood.

*The Conestable commanded by the King not to depart from Court.*

*The King of Nauarre made liues for the king.*

But least *Nauarre* and his associates should bee too much discontented with this crosse dealing, it was thought good to practise some newe attonement betweene them and the *Guises*, and to declare *Nauarre* the kings lieutenant generall throughout all his dominions: which was accomplished by the meanes of the Conestable: so that now *Nauarre* was highly honoured, and the *Guises* made Court vnto him. This gaue some comfort vnto the persecuted *Hugonots*, and caused all men to hope for some better gouernement then had beene of latetime: and the rather, for that *Nauarre* tolde the Ambassadour of *Denmark*, that within one yere he would cause the Gospel to be preached throughout all *France*.

It was a wonder to heare what ioy there was generally, throughout the whole land, and how exceedingly the number of the Protestants were encreased in a short tyme, by this little countenance which was giuen them. In so much as they could hardly finde comenient places to receiue the multitudes, which flocked to the Sermons. Now as there were many who vsed this benefit

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wisely, and with great reuerence: so there were others, who indiscreetly abused it, exceeding a meane, and hastily running from one extremitie to another, supposing they stood vpon a better foundation then indeed they did, began to vset too much libertie, to eate flesh, and that vpon such dayes as were forbidden, to condemne festiuall dayes, and many ceremoniall vsages, to pul downe Images, and deface altars, contrarie to that which had not long before beene expressly commaunded: which was that the ordering of these things, should bee referred either to a generall, or nationall councill.

*The Constable alienated from the Admirall by the practise of the Guise.*

This boldnesse and rash dealing of many of the reformed, and the dayly informations of such like pranks played in many corners of the land, brought the Constable (who was a very deuout and a religious Papist) into a maruellous dislike with such as were termed protestants, especially when he saw them at Court eat flesh in Lent, and that there were preachings in the Prince of Condes chamber, and likewise in the Admiralls, and free acesse for al men to come vnto them. Which when the *Guises* perceiued, they likewise vnder the pretext of religion ioyned themselves vnto the Constable, exasperating him agaynst the Admirall his cousin, for his embracing of the Gospel, and set the Mareschal S. Andrew to whisper him in the eare, that the motion which was made, as touching the calling backe againe of those excessive donations, given by the late King, was a deuise of the Admiralls, to keepe him being his vncle in awe, and by that practise to cause him to chaunge his Religion. Sundrie others (as Madame *Madalynne de Sauoy* his wife, the Dutchesse of *Valentinois*, & the Count *Killiers*, put to their helping handes to whet him on: who altogether alienated by these practises, notwithstanding all the remonstrances of the Mareschal *Memorancie* his sonne, banded against his owne kindred, and associated himselfe with the Dukes of *Montpensier*, and of *Guise*, who with their leagues and confederations robbed the king of his subiects, and brought into that noble kingdom all disorder and confusion.

*The Edict made at Fontainebleau 1561*

*The Guises labor to overthrow the kings Edict.*

The *Guises* hauing got the Constable to ioyne with them, began to lift vp theyr heades, and secretly to spread abroad many infamous things agaynst the Admirall, whose confusion of all others they most earnestly desired, wherevpon many grudgings arose, and it was vehemently feared, that some tumultuous accidents would ensue: for the preuenting whereof, there was an *Edict* made at *Fontainebleau*, and sent abroad into all parts of the land, whereby it was forbidden to vse any opprobrious words to any of the Kings liege people, and especiallie that one shoulde not call another Papist, or Hugonot, but that all should liue in amitie together, and not alter any thing which was already established, before the king, by the aduice of his councill, had otherwise ordained. The *Guises* could not endure that this peaceable course should bee taken, and therefore (as those who thought it their best to fish in troubled waters) they deuised with the Court of Parliament at *Paris*, to frustrate this Proclamation, and by many reasons to shew the inualiditie therof, & especially for that therby was tollerated two religions: which (said they) was not to be endured, considering that by this meanes, the whole state was endangered, nay that it was impossible for that comon wealth to endure long, where there were such contrarieties considering that there can be no agreemēt betwixt god & belial: & a kingdom diuided



ded within it self could not continue for any long time. Besides, the Cardinal of *Lorrayn* made many greenous complaints against those of the Religion, saying that their assemblies and conuenticles waxed greater euery day then other, that there were foule and villanous disorders committed by them in their nocturnall meetings; that they were people without order, without conscience or any ciuill humanitie, and that they neither feared God nor the King.

*The Cardinall of Lorrayn made many complaints of the assemblies of the Protestants.*

These and the like complaints much moued the Queene mother, & gladly she would haue repressed these assemblies, if shee had knowne how. But the countenance of the King of *Nauarre*, the Prince of *Conde*, the Admirall *Rock-faucont*, *Dandelot*, and diuers other of the Nobilitie, did encourage many to persist, and drew on others by their examples, with great earnestnes to embrace the gospel, in so much as at length they finding themselves very strong, and wel countenanced by great estates, seised vppon sundrie of the Catholikes Churches, and preached publicly in the view of all men, and that in *Paris*, the principall Citie of the whole land: yea, the Gospel preuailed so mightily in a short space, that it was founde by the diligent enquire of the Admirall, that there were 2150. congregations that made profession therof: which vexed the Guy-

*2150. congregations of the protestants in France.*

ses to the heart, who by their cunning handling of the matter, had by this time brought the Conestable in such hatred therewith, and with his cousins the three Chastillons, that both hee and the Guyes with all their fauourits, departed the Court in a great chafe, for that they sawe such fauour shewed to the poore Hugonots.

While the Protestants were thus graced at their princes hands, and that all things seemed to go well with them, there fell out a strange accident to crosse that happie course of the Gospel, and a most deuillish pollicie was vsed to overthrow the reformed Religion, well neere established in most of all the principall Cities, and cheefest villages of the Realme: and that was this.

The King of *Nauarre*, albeit hee fauoured the Religion, and countenanced the professours thereof in very good sort, and that for a good while together: yet being a man easily seduced, and almost of no courage or resolution in any thing that hee tooke in hand, was led by others, and by faire words carryed hither and thither at euerie mans pleasure: which the Guyes and their associats perceining, practised sundrie waies to draw him to theyr faction, assuring themselves that if hee might be gained, theyr side would bee strong inough: and that *Conde*, the Admirall, and all the rest of their confederates would bee made to stoope whether they would or not. The better to effect this, they practised with the Cardinall of *Ferrara*, the Popes Legat, and with the Cardinall of *Turnon*, who hauing by rich gifts, and large promises, gained two of his principall seruants, did in the ende likewise win the maister, by a notorious and deep dissimuled deuise. They put into his head a phantasticall conceit, assuring him that if hee would become a Catholike, and continue in the Apostolike Roman faith, that the King of *Spaine* would giue him the kingdome of *Sardinia*, from the which was foure times so good as *Nauarre*, and that the Popish and Spanish gallies should bee at his commaundement for the defence thereof against all men: some also went about to perswade him to diuorce himselfe from his Wife, and to marrie with the Queene of Scots, a yong, faire, and beautifull widow,

*The Cardinalls of Ferrara and Turnon were with the King of Nauarre from the Gospel.*

*The King of Navarre* widow, the daily soliciting of such as were imployed in this businesse, & their manifold remonstrances, tooke such place, that his whole mind was set vpon *Sardinia*, whatsoeuer could be saide to the contrarie by any friend he had. The *Queene of Navarre* vnderstanding this, sought by all meanes to diuert him, setting before his eyes his many and solemne promises both to God and man, and that if hee should now abandon his friendes, all the world would crie out of him. But all was in vaine, for he began to decline euery day more then other, and in short time did viterly forsake his profession, combining himselfe with the *Guyse*, his mortall and sworn enemies.

*The Queene mother plays on both hands.* The *Queene mother* did all this while very cunningly carrie her selfe, and became (as it were) a newter betweene both, enclining rather to the *Catholikes*, purposing (in deede) howsoeuer religion went, to take the strong est part, and therefore she entertained the prince of *Conde* & the admiral with faire words, promising them wonders, and for a better shewe countenanced the preachings all that might bee. howbeit, she fauoured the *Catholikes* in her heart, and began to make but light of the daily complaints of the protestants.

*The Triumvirate*

The league which before had bin made betweene the *Constable*, the *Guyse*, and the *mareschall Saint Andrew*, afterwards called the *Triumvirate*, hauing gained the king of *Navarre*, became very strong, insomuch as they hastied to *Paris*, there to fortifie themselves, and to procure so much as they might, an abolishment of those *Edicts* and proclamations which had beene published in fauour of the reformed Church. The king of *Navarre* began to frowne on his cousins of *Chastillon*, and to speake a loose off vnto them: which made them to forsake the Court, and to retire to their own houses, for feare least there should bee some quarrell picked against them. The prince of *Conde* complayned maruailously of those strange fashions of his brother, and resolutely stood in the fauour of the protestants: and the better to preuent all inconueniences, put himselfe within *Paris*, thereto prouide for the countenancing of the reformed Churches, and to see that the Kings *edicts* should bee executed, and peace maintained so much as might bee.

1562.

The *Triumvirate* being wel acquainted with all these proceedings, & knowing the courage and magnanimous minde of the Prince, which would not bee daunted with words, thought it their best to come strongly appointed, and either by faire meanes or by foule to seise vpon the person of the King, and the *Queene mother*: which if they might once effect, they doubted not but the rest of their deuises would be accomplished well inough.

*The murder at Vassy by the Duke of Guyse.*

The Duke of *Guyse*, desirous to bee with the formost at this audacious enterprise, forgot not to ioyne with his associats at the appoynted time, and passing by *Vassy* with a great troupe of armed men, vnderstanding that there was a Sermon not farre off, where many of the *Hugonots* were assembled, suddenly set vpon them, and in most cruell and outrageous sort, put them all to the sword, sparing neither man, woman, nor childe, to the great horror of the beholders of so pittious a tragedy, and to the high dishonor of the King, by whose *edict* not long before, they were allowed their preachings and libertie of their conscience. After which barbarous fact he hastied to *Paris*, there to effect the rest of his diabolicall deuises. The newes of this horrible murder beeing



(being quickly blowne abroad) came no sooner to the eares of the Protestants, but they began to lay their wits together, and to provide for their safetie. Many of the nobility which had made profession of the gospel, repaired to the prince of *Conde*, who was in *Paris*, there to take aduise what course were best to be v-  
 sed in so perilous & dangerous times: where it was concluded, that before they  
 would rise in armes, they would first seeke for iustice by the ordinary course ap-  
 pointed: whereupon they complained to the King, the Queene mother, and  
 the King of *Nauarre*, desiring that the Duke of *Guise*, who was now vp in armes  
 and marching towards *Paris*, might bee commanded to come in more peacea-  
 ble manner, and to answer those grieuous complaints made against him, and  
 his contemptuous and disobedient proceedings against the Kings lawes. The  
 Queen mother seemed to hearken vnto them, but the king of *Nauarre* flatly an-  
 swered, that hee which touched the little finger of the Duke of *Guise*, touched  
 his whole body, and that hee would not endure that he should be wronged  
 by any.

*The prince  
of Conde also  
kech for iu-  
stice against  
the Guise,  
but cannot be  
heard.*

By this time was the Duke of *Guise* come to *Paris*, accompanied with the  
 Conestable, the Duke of *Aumaine*, the maréshall of Saint *Andrew*, *Randan*, and  
 with a great troupe of other his associats, where he was receiued with the ac-  
 clamations of lundrie other his supposts, *Vive Guise, Vive Guise*, as if the K. him-  
 selfe had entred. There likewise repaired to the Prince of *Conde* great numbers  
 of his friendes and followers: so that the Citie was full of armed men, diuided  
 into two contrarie factions. The Citizens fearing that there would bee some  
 vprore, and that some dangerous accident would ensue among so many ene-  
 mies and discontented persons, besought the Prince, that for the loue and fauor  
 which they had alwaies borne to the Princes of the bloud, and in especiall to  
 the house of *Conde*, it would please him to haue compassion vppon the Pa-  
 risians, who now stood in great feare of their liues and losse of their goods, if a-  
 ny tumultuous stirre should happe, by reason their Citie swarmed with a mul-  
 titude of souldiers, whom they knewe not how to bee ridde of, vnlesse it might  
 please him whom they had alwaies knowne to bee of a very milde and peacea-  
 ble nature, to withdrawe himselfe and his troupes to some other place: which  
 course as they were assured, it would bee the safest for the Citie, so they  
 doubted not but it would bee most honourable vnto him, and an euident argu-  
 ment vnto all the worlde, of the religious care hee had to saue so many mens  
 liues, as at that instant seemed to be in assured perill.

*The Guise  
receiued with  
great accla-  
mations into  
Paris.*

*The prince  
of Conde lea-  
uing Paris at  
the request of  
the Parisians,  
the Guise  
seisseth upon it*

*The Trium-  
virate seisseth  
upon the K.*

*The begin-  
ning of the  
first ciuill  
warres.*

Whereunto the Prince answered, that hee for his part was very willing to leaue  
 the Citie, if the *Guise* would do the like: which thing beeing promised that it  
 should be performed, the prince was no sooner departed, but there were strong  
 guards sette at the gates to keepe him from reentring: and so was the Prince ex-  
 pelled, and the *Guise* remained maister of the Citie. This beeing brought to  
 passe, the *Triumvirate* presently marched towards the Court, and there tooke the  
 king, the Queene mother, and the Kings brethren, whome they brought to  
*Paris*, and forthwith determined to proclaime wars against the Prince of *Conde*,  
 and all his associats. The Prince beeing enformed of these proceedings, sent  
*Dandelot* brother to the Admirall, to seise vppon *Orleanes*, which (though with  
 some difficultie) hee accomplished: whether *Conde* forthwith repaired, and  
 tooke

*The Prince  
of Conde  
assailed in his  
Coach by the  
Papists.*

tooke possession of the Towne to the kings vie. Now was the warre open on all sides, and the Reformed persecuted in most cruell maner in euery place: especially at *Paris*, where nothing was more common then murdering, spoiling, and pilling the poore Hugonots: yea, such was the rage of the barbarous Catholics, that the Prince of *Conde* passing through a village called *Vandray*, was set vpon beeing in her Coach and great with childe, and by hurling and throwing of stones by sundrie of the townesmen, at the instigation of a popish priest, put in hazard of her life, wherewith shee was so terrified, that shee was deliuered before her time of two twins shortly after, and at length with much adoo, arriued at *Orleance* with her eldest sonne the marquesse of *Conty*: where shee found the Prince of *Conde*, the Admirall, *Dandelot*, and many other principall persons of the Religion, who were busied in gathering forces, and providing all necessarie meanes to withstande their enemies. There were letters written to the Emperour *Ferdinando*, and the Princes of the Empire, enforming them of the occasion of their bearing of armes, and of the vsurped authoritie of the Guyes and their adherents, earnestly beseeching them to haue some commiseration of the King, who being a Child, was held in captiuitie by their tyranny, and all things likely to be brought to a wofull desolation throughout the realme of *France*.

*Conde taketh certaine  
townes vpon  
the Loyre.*

The Prince had no sooner gathered a great power about him, & was growne strong by reason of a supply brought vnto him out of *Poitou*, and *Xantoigne*, of three or foure hundred horse, by the count *Rochefaucont*, but that it was thought best to be doing, and to employ some of his forces in getting of certaine strong townes, and other well fortified places neere adioyning, and thereupon certain troupes were sent downe along by the Riuer of *Loyre*, who tooke *Mun*, *Baugency*, and others, wherein they placed certaine garrisons, to keepe them from beeing regained by the enemy, who now sought continually to annoy the Prince, and to take the aduantage that was offered.

*The misery  
of the ciuill  
warre.*

Sundrie Cities in *France*, as *Angiers*, *Tholous*, *Lymoux*, with many others, wherein there were thousands of the reformed Religion, seeing that the Prince was growne strong, and very able to confront his enemies, began to shewe themselves openly, and to stande with the rest of their confederates, whereupon forthwith there ensued a mortall hatred betweene them and the Catholics, each seeking the ouerthrow of others by all possible meanes. Then immediately followed robbing, spoiling, ransoming, murdering, & massacring, in most outrageous manner, with a maruailous confusion in euery corner of the Land. No man could well tell whom to trust, or where to dwell in safetie. The cheefe Cities were fraught with garrisons, the small villages were sacked and burned by such as cared neither for God nor the deuill, but onely howe to enrich themselves. Infinite were the miseries in all quarters, and nothing almost heard of but weeping, wailing, and lamentation, and no hope of any redresse of so incomprehensible mischiefes.

The Prince of *Conde* and his associats pondering in their minds the wofull desolation that was like to ensue, if there were not some present remedy for these diabolical proceedings, wrote diuers letters to the King, the Queene mother, and the King of *Nauarre*, beseeching them to take some commiseration vpon the

the



the poore and desolate people, and that by suffering the subiect to vse his conscience so long as he liued in obedience and according to the kings Edi&ct, *France* might enioy her former peace, and not be brought to that horrible desolation, which doth inseparably accompanie ciuill and intestine warres: but the *Guyse* (who in deede with the Cardinall his brother ruled the royst) could not endure to heare of any peace, but daily and hourelly cryed our, to muster men, to gather souldiers, to send for the kings bannes and arierbannes, and with fire and sword to persecute the poore protestants. And hauing by their damnable practises gotten an armie, marched towards *Orleanse* with great furie. The contederates beeing daily aduertised by their espials of the approach of the Catholikes, thought it best to meete them by the way, and if oportunitie serued, to giue them batraile, being especially moued thereunto by the continuall perswasions of the Admirall, and the couragious resolution of all in generall.

*The Duke of Guyse crieth out for war.*

Wherupon the prince took the field the nineteenth of *June*, 1562. with three Regiments of footmen, amounting to the number of 33. Ensignes, whose Colonels were *Gnamont*, *Fontenay*, the yongest sonne of the vicont of *Rohan*, and *1. of Conde* his brother to *Genlis*, with two thousand horse encamped at *Vansoudun*, neere vnto *Orleanse*, and directly in the way towards *Baugency*. The Catholikes hauing not as yet al their forces in a readinesse, thought it best to amuse the Prince with a parle of peace, in which action the Queene mother was thought the meetest to be employed: who so handled the matter, that the Protestants (who longed after nothing so much as quietnesse) were readily drawne to hearken thereto: onely they required, that before any thing was talked of, the Constable, the Duke of *Guyse*, and the marquesse Saint *Andrew* should withdraw themselves to their houses, and then the Prince of *Conde* should come to the King to treat of that, which especially tended to the peaceable state of the common wealth, and the welfare of euery particular man.

*The Prince of Conde taketh the field.*

This was no sooner moued by the Protestants, but it was accepted by the Queene mother, so that immediatly those three principall Catholikes departed from the Court, and went as farre as *Chasteaudan*, where they stayed to expect the sequell of their secret counsels. The Prince vnderstanding of their departure, went presently vnto the K. putting himself into the hands of the Queene mother, and other his enemies: but he was no sooner come to the Court, but he forthwith repented of his haste, and beeing aduertised by sundry, of his imminent perill and danger, politickly obtained of the Queen mother, that the principall men of his Armie might likewise come to knowe her further pleasure: which beeing granted, hee wrote a secret letter vnto them of his estate, desiring them to hasten, and to come strongly accompanied.

*Conde putteth himselfe into the hands of his enemies.*

*A politicke deuise of the Prince.*

The next day early in the morning there came the Admirall, *Dandelot*, *Rochefaucont*, the Prince *Portian*, *Rohan*, *Genlis*, *Gramont*, *Soubize*, *Piennes*, and many other lords & Captains, with a far greater retinew then the Queen expected: so that nowe she thought it best to make sayre weather, and to sooth them vp, considering (indeed) that shee was not able to detayne the Prince any longer then hee himselfe listed, and therefore in very gracious maner shee bad them al welcome, and openly in the presence of all the Nobilitie, shee gaue them great thanks, for their true and faithfull seruice towards the king, assuring them that

*The Queen  
mother als  
loweth of the  
proceedings  
of the protes  
tants.*

that shee (for her parte) did thinke very honourably of all their proceedings, and did not doubt but the King her sonne would bee mindfull hereafter to recompence so many deserts, seeing it was very apparant that both his estate and her owne was maintained by their royall seruices. They againe humbly thanked her maiestie for her good opinion, beseeching her to continue their gracious Lady, and to bee a meanes that there might bee an ende of those miseries, which nowe so fearefully threatened the crowne of France, promising for their parts to bee most ready to employ their whole studies, yea, their goods, and liues, and whatsoever other meanes they had to assist her maiestie, in so good and laudable an action, so that they might enioy a peace, with a free exercise of their Religion, according to the Kings edict.

*The Prince  
of Conde res  
turneth to  
his Campe  
& prepareth  
for warre.*

They further declared vnto the Queen mother, the manifold greouances of the kings subiects, with a meanes to remedie so many & so lamentable disorders, to al which & sundry other remonstrances, albeit she seemed to giue some allowances, yet for that shee stood so stiffly against the free exercise of Religion, and would needes vrge the Prince to depart the Realme (as indeed he had promised, rather then hee would bee any occasion of the continuance of ciuill wars, albeit presently vpon better and more mature consideration hee repented him of the speech) there could bee nothing concluded. Whereupon the Prince returned to his campe, exceeding glad that God had deliuered him out of the snares of his enemies, and resolued with all, for his forces to fight it out, and to hazard his fortune as soone as any oportunitie was offered. With this resolution he dislodged and marched towards the Catholikes, hauing in his army ten thousand five hundred footmen, and a thousand horse. Now when he approached the enemy, hauing disposed his troupes in very warlike maner, he twice presented the battaile, but the Catholikes refused, for that all their forces were not as yet assembled.

*The Catho  
likes refuse to  
fight.*

The Prince seeing hee could not draw them out of their strength, hauing braued them in the faces, and maintained some light skirmishes with them, retired towards *Orleanse*, sending abroad into all quarters to provide all necessities for the warres: and for the more speedy accomplishment heereof, it was decreed that *Soubize* shoulde bee sent to *Lyons*, *Rochfaucont* into *Xaintoigne*, *Duras* into *Guyen*, and *Briquemault* into *Normandy*, and so into *England*, to procure both men and money, and as many friends as might be gotten. *Dandelot* was likewise sent into *Germany*, to hasten such succours as were promised by the Princes Protestants. *Conde*, and the Admirall, with the rest of the Captaines and Gentlemen, with two and twenty ensignes of footmen remained stil in *Orleanse*.

*Forces sent  
out of Ger  
many to aide  
the Catho  
likes.*

By this time were the forces which came out of *Germany* to the aide of the Catholikes in a readinesse to march vnder their Collonelles, *Rokendolf*, *Frewlich*, and the *Ringraue*, who besides certaine Corners of Reisters, had likewise twentie ensignes of Lansquenits. These were no sooner arrived at the campe, but that the *Trimmurite* thought it best to employ them with al the rest of their forces against the Hugonots, and that before they should haue any aide come out of *Germany*. For the hastening whereof, *Dandelot* hadde assayed all possible meanes, and had so polittikely handled the matter, that notwithstanding all the



the praifes of his enemies, hee procured great ayde for the strengthening of she cause.

The Catholikes were long in suspence whether they should besiege *Orleanse*, or *Roban*, the principall Citie in *Normandie*: but at last, they resolved to assaile their forces agaynst *Roban*. Where hauing first gayned the fort of *Saint Katherineins*, which commaunded the towne, through the treacherie of the captaine, who was corrupted with money and faire promises, they forthwith entred by force, killing, spoyling and murthering the inhabitants in most cruell and horrible manner, and making hauocke of all thinges without pittie or mercie. *Augustine Marolat*, a famous learned man, and chiefe Minister of the Towne, was there hanged, with *Mautrenill* the president of the Parliament, besides sundrie other of speciall account. The Catholikes lost manie of theyr brauest men: and amongst others the King of *Nauarrie*, who beeing shot with a Harquebuz in the left shoulder, as hee was making water in the Trenches, dyed the seuenteenth of September following: neuer attaining that *Marlorat* hanged. The King of *Nauarrie* wounded to death.

*Maritime Kingdome*, the hope whereof had so bewitched him, that he forgot wife, children, kinsfolks, friends, Religion, yea, and God himselfe, and thought of nothing but of the *Sardinian Crowne*: beeing happie in nothing but in this, that hee dyed in the beginning of the Ciuill warres, and neuer lyued to see the miserie of his owne Countrey, whereof hee had beene a chiefe and principall cause.

The losse of this Citie being a place of so great importance, was a maruailous discouragement vnto many, who stood but faintly to their tacklings before, and had (no doubt) wrought a more daungerous effect, had not this breach beene repayred, or at least well amended, by the surpasing care and prouident circumspectnesse of *Dandelot*, who so plied his friends in *Germany*, that he had gathered about 3300. horse, and 4000. footmen, with whom there met the Prince *Portion* at *Strausbourg* with 100. French horse. The ioiful news of which power encouraged the confederates to hold out, in hope of their future help, and maruellously animated such, as before were exceedingly daunted with the remembrance of their former losses. These new supplies marched towards *Lorraine*, and passing ouer the riuer of *Seine*, trauesed the country by *Tonne*, *Crenen*, & *Montargis*, and arriued at *Orleanse*, in despite both of the duke of *Neuers*, and the *Mareschall S. Andrew*, who were sent to stop their passage, with 14. companies of men of Armes, 16. cornets of Argoletters, 25. ensignes of footmen, 9. companies of launces, and 13. of light horse, besides the old troupes of *Picardie*, vnder the leading of *Pauan*, *Monfaleis*, *Giury*, *Crenay*, and many other Chieftaines. This noble and valiant *Dandelot*, gayned a verie honourable report, euen of his enemies, for so wise and politique a conduct, insomuch as hee was not onely repured a Gentleman of surpasing courage, and of an vndaunted spirit in greatest perils, but also a leader of excellent skill, and deepe foresight to preuent all daungers: About the same instant there met with him also *Rochfaucant*, and *Duras*, an excellent with somethree hundred horse, and a thousand five hundred footmen, al which were no sooner assembled at *Orleanse*, but that the Prince determined to take the field: and hauing provided all thinges in a readinesse, departed towarde *Phiniers*, and so to *Baugencie*: both which places were quickelye gayned from

*Dandelot* brings forth forces out of *Germany* to the ayde of the Protestants;

*Dandelot* esteemed for an excellent captain

from the Catholikes, with the strong Towne of *Eftamps*: where was founde great store of prouision, as Corne, Wine, Powder, shot, and all necessaries for the warres.

*The Prince  
of Conde  
marcheth to-  
wards Paris.*

The Prince after some smal stay to repose his wearied troupes, marched on to- wards *Paris*, which he no sooner approched, & that the bands vnder the leading of the *P. Portian*, and *Mony*, had giuen in so farre as the suburbs of *S. Victor*, but that all the Citie was in an vprore, and euery man at their wittes ende: so wonderfully were they daunted with the sight of the Princes armie, albeit they were not past eight thousande footemen, and some five or sixethousand horse. Whereas there were within the Citie at the least, a hundred thousand able to beare armes, hauing the Constable, the Duke of *Guise*, the Duke of *Neuers*, the Marechals, and in a manner all the braue leaders of *France*, for their chieftaines and commanders. But such was their timorousnesse, that they kept themselues close, albeit the battell was presented vnto them twise at the least, and onelie amused the Prince with certaine conditions of peace, about the which there were manie meetings. In the end all being found to be but meere delayes, and onelie to gaine time, vntill the comming of the Spaniardes, the Prince resolved to assaile the enemye in his Trenches: but the same night, which was appoynted for this exployte, and immediately before it shoulde haue beene put in execution, *Genlis* a principall man among the Protestants, secretly fledde to the Catholikes: which vnaexpected accident quite altered the counsell of the Confederates, supposing that now there was some aduertisement giuen of their intended enterprise: and therefore they deferred the execution of that proiect, vntill some othertyme. But by reason of the wants that were in the Armie, as the penurie of victuals, and other necessaries, as also a secrete discontentment among the straungers, for that they lacked theyr pay, it was agreed to stay no longer before *Paris*, which was not so easie to bee gotten, nor in so short a tyme, as was requisite to supplie theyr present necessitie, but to dislodge and to retire towards *New-bauen*, there to attende such succours as were expected out of *England*. By the way the Prince tooke *Galardeon*, a towne of good importance, where he stayed to giue some breath to his wearyed troupes, and to accomodate his armie of such things as were most necessarie.

*Genlis fleeth  
to the Catholikes*

*The prince  
leaueth Paris  
and marcheth  
towards New  
bauen.*

*The battell  
of Dreux.*

The Catholikes coasted him all the way, watching to catch him at some aduantage: howbeit nothing was attempted vntill both the camps were come vnto *Dreux*, where they approched so neare, and either partie had so farre engaged themselues, that there was no remedie, but they must needs fight: so that now each Generall began to bethinke of all good meanes for the strengthening of himselfe, and the weakening of his enemyes. The Catholikes had made choise of a verie strong place to encampe in, being neare vnto *Dreux*, wherein there was a garrison of their associates, and likewise adioyning vnto a wood, which was a verie fit and conuenient place, to effect diuers stratagems. There was a large and spacious plaine, through which there ran a little valley, seruing as it were for the bounds and limits of both armies. The Constable hauing gotten this aduantage, presented himselfe in battell aray, at the head of the village, vpon the toppe of a little hill, hauing placed two strong battaylons



of footemen in the towne, which should gard fourteene Cannons: so planted, that they were ready to play vpon the army of the confederates, as soone as the signall should be giuen. Each battaillon was flanked with certaine troupes of horse, as it were for a mutuall succour one for another, with their *Enfans perdus* in their fronts, and those of the choyest of all their regiments. They had the *Riuier Eureux* at their backs, and espying that they were likely to come to a triall of their fortune, they forthwith emparked themselues betwene two villages, in a place of more aduantage then before.

The Mareschall *S. Andrew* led the auantgard, which was composed of nine companies of French launces, thirteene ensignes of Spaniards, with as manie French, and eleuen of Almaines, with foure field peeces: all which were arranged on the left side of the Conestable, who led the maine battaile, further aduanced then eyther the Mareschall, or the Duke of *Guise*, wherein were seuteene Corners of men of Armes, and three of light horsemen, with two and twentie ensignes of Zwitzers, seuteene of French and Britons, and cyght peeces of great Ordinance. The Duke of *Guise* led the rereuarde, which seemed to flank the battaile of the Conestable on the right side, with a strong troupe of horsemen, and two esquadrons of Spanish footemen, with fundrie others his followers, men of especiall account, and much renowned for their valyanthesse.

The prince had so aranged his battailes, that the horsemen wherein they ouermatched his enemies, were in the formost rankes, and taking vnto himselfe *Rochefaucont*, with certaine light horsemen of *Curties* companie, with some other Corners led by *Mony*, and *Anarell*, besides a troupe of Reisters, all which serued as flankers for his battaillon of footemen, resolved to encounter the Conestable, who seemed to be readie to giue the charge.

Each generall hauing disposed of all things in this warlike sort, the great artillarie began to vomit out their deuillrie, and the Conestable prepared to assaile the battaile of the Prince, which hasted in like maner to the encounter, and that with so stately and superbiuous a dismarch, that it gaue euident testimonie, that it was led by a generall of noble courage, and great experience. The Prince charged the Zwitzers, who valiantly endured the first shotte, and stood to it verie manfully. But at length by reason of the smal shot which hailed vpon them without ceasing, and somewhat cleared their ranks, they began to giue ground, which the valiant and couragious *Mony* espying, incorporating his troupes with *Monsieur de Daneret*, set on them with such furie, that he made them flie amaine. And being seconded by the Prince, wholly defeated them, as renowned Pykemen as they were. The Reisters, who followed the Princes good fortune, gaue in with great courage, committing a maruellous carnage and mortalitie vpon their enemies. At the same instant the Admirall charged the Conestable, and that so lustily, that his men began to shrink, and he himselfe being wounded in the face with a *Curtelas*, and sore bruised with small pistoll shot, was forced to yeeld to *Vexines*. But the Reisters passing by at that instant, tooke him away by force, and carried him to the Prince, as a prisoner of their owne. The rest of the Conestables battaile was quickly defeated, and no hope left for the Catholikes, had nor the Duke of *Guise* reserved his forces, whole and entyre, and with a

The Catholikes  
like armie.

The Protestants  
armie.

The Prince  
of Conde  
charge the  
Zwitzers, &  
ouerthroweth  
them.

The Conestable  
taken  
prisoner.

sudden charge crossed the happy course of the victorious Prince: whose battalions of footmen being bared of their horse, could not endure the furious assault of the Guisards, but fled as fast as they could to saue their liues: notwithstanding all the encouragement vsed by *Dandelos*, who perswaded them all that he might to abide their enemies.

*Conde taken  
prisoner.*

*Dinotbus  
saith, that  
there were  
10000. Cat  
holikes slaine  
The Adm  
reshal S. An  
drew slaine.*

1563

Moreover *Danville* one of the sonnes of the Constable, espying the princes horsemen disordered with pursuing their victory, charged thē before they could be rallied afresh, and having first wounded *Conde* in the hand, and then slaine his horse, the red crosses so pressed on him on all sides, before he could be remounted, that he was constrained to yeeld himself prisoner, to the immeasurable grief of all the confederates. The Admirall gathering together so manie as possible he might, of his dispersed troupes, gaue a fresh charge vpon the *Guise*. where there was a sore and cruell fight: but for that he was not able to match his enemies, after the death of many braue men on both sides, he retired to *Nenfaul*, leauing the honour of that iourney to the *Guise*. At the last encounter were slaine the Mareischall of *S. Andrew*, *Monbrune*, the Constables sonne, the Lord *Pieres*, *Annebaut*, *Brossy*, *Giury*, and many other leaders. The Duke of *Anmaile* was greeuously hurt, and likewise the Duke of *Neuers*, who dyed shortly after. The principall prisoners which were taken, were the Constable, who was forthwith sent to *Orleanse*, with *Orayson*, *Rochfort*, *Esclauoles*, and sundrie other Gentlemen of good account. There were slaine on the Princes side verie neare a thousand five hundred footmen, seuen hundred Almaines, & some foure hundred horse, as *Dinotbus* reporteth. The principall of which were, the Baron of *Arpaion*, *Saux*, *Shanden*, *Liencourt*, *Fredomere*, *Carlere*, *Rougnac*, *Mazelles*, *Saint Germier*, al which for the most part were of the Cornet of *Mony*, who was taken prisoner at this last conflict.

*The D. of  
Guise chosen  
generall ouer  
the Catho  
likes, and the  
Admirall  
ouer the pro  
testants.*

The newes of this battaile was verie vncertaine: each side supposing, yea, and constantly reporting their owne ouerthrowe. But vpon more certaine intelligence, how that both Generals were taken, and that they had parted in a maner with equall losse, each faction beganne to rowse vp themselves, and to hope for better successe in their future wars: wherupon they resolved to choose them new Generals, vntill the old were againe restored to libertie. The duke of *Guise* was thought the meetest to commaund ouer the Catholikes, and the Admirall ouer the confederates, who pondering their harmes lately receiued by the death of so many braue men, and their want of many necessities requisit for to keepe the field, thought it best to retire, the one to *Paris*, the other to *Orleanse*, and there to repaire their broken armies.

The Duke of *Guise* lay not long idle, but assayed to recouer certaine townes from the Confederates, as *Pluniers*, *Estamps*, and some others. The Admirall on the other side, beeing as carefull to maintaine heade agaynst the enemy, besieged *Salles* in *Berry*, which was yeelded vpon composition: where he found good store of gold and siluer for the payment of his Reisters. *Rochfaucourt* tooke *S. Agnan*: and the Prince *Portian*, entered *Monrichard*. The gayning of which Townes greatly countenanced the wauering estate of the Protestants. Thus did these two armyes flote vp and downe, each seeking to encroach vpon other so much as might bee. At length the Admirall espying the drift

of



of the *Guise*, which was to inuest *Orleanse* on the sudden, put himself with all his forces within the Citie. Where notwithstanding vpon better aduice, he remayned not long, but marched towards *Normandie*, to meet with the Englishmen, whose landing was dayly expected at *New-bauen*, which was the place appointed for that purpose, and that by the consent of the confederates.

The Queene mother being aduertised hereof, laboured to stop his intended voyage, by propounding a parle of peace: but the Admirall being well acquainted with such stratagems, would in no wise hearken thereto, but followed his formed proiect, and so with some 3000. horse passingly well furnished, and far better then at the battel of *Drenx*, held on his course. And being a man of great experience, and singular expedition in all his enterprises, he surprised on the sudden sundry places, which proued after ward of no small moment, for the aduancing of the affaires of the confederates.

The duke of *Guise* hauing his armie in a readinesse, and vnderstanding of the Admirals departure from *Orleanse*, leaving *Dandelot* his brother for the garde thereof, vntill his returne, thought it best to besiege them who were there assembled, while the Admirall with the flower of all their troupes was busied other wheres. With this resolution he dislodged, and planted his siege about the towne, which he so sore battered, and couragiously assailed, that the Citie was in imminent perill, and all the confederates were in a wonderfull feare, least it should haue beene taken. Yea, the Duke so assured himself thereof, that hee wrote to the King and Queene Mother, that he hoped now to extirpe the race of the *Hugonots*, who had for so many yeares troubled the whole land, and that he would send them newes thereof within foure and twentie houres. But while he was thus in his ruffe, firmly perswading himselfe that all was his, behold, there fell out a straunge and v unexpected accident, which brake the necke of all his deuises.

There was a poore Gentleman named *John Poltrat*, one of verie little stature, but full of spirite and lyfe, and generally reputed of such as best knewe him, to be somewhat a rash headed fellow, and verie vndiscreete, and one that durst attempt anything. Who being brought vp for a long time in *Spaine*, had learned the language verie perfectly: And for that both for his colour, complection, and stature, he was so like vnto them of that nation, he was commonly called the little Spaniard.

This fellow seruing sometime vnder *Soubize*, who commaunded at *Lyons*, would often vaunt, that this was the hande (stretching out his arme) that shoulde kill the Duke of *Guise*, and deliuer *Fraunce* from that monstrous and cruell Tyrant. And this hee vsually vttered in great brauerie: so that as manie as heard him, knowing the humour of the man, laughed at his follic, little imagining that hee meant as hee sayde, for if hee had, then it was lykely hee woulde haue kept his purpose more secrete, and not haue beene so open mouthed. It happened so, that immediately after the battaile of *Drenx*, *Soubize* sent this *Poltrat* with a Letter to the Admirall, who was nowe at *Selles in Perrie*: whither hee was no sooner come, but that *Fenquieres*, whome hee had serued in former tymes in the warres in *Picardie*, knowing him to be a man of service, commended him to the

The admirall  
goeth to-  
wards *New-  
bauen*, to  
meete with  
the English  
men.

The Duke  
of *Guise* be-  
sieges *Or-  
leanse*.

The story of  
*Poltrat* that  
killed the  
Duke of  
*Guise*.

Admirall, saying: that he was a fit man to bee employed to discover somewhat of the enemies proceedings about *Orleance*, for that he shoulde bee taken for a Spaniard, and so a fauourer of theyr designs. Whereupon the Admirall gaue him twentie Crownes, and sent him to *Orleance*: where hee continued not long, but hauing got as good intelligence as he coule, returned backe to do his message.

The Admirall liking the man well for his diligence, and secrecie in matters of such importanace, gaue him an hundred Crownes, and bidde him buy him a good Horse, that hee might with more celeritie dispatch his businesse. With this money *Poltror* bought him a verie excellent Spanish Genes, and leauing the Admirall, went backe to the *Guises* Campe, where he awayted some oportunitie to put in execution his intended purpose: Which shortly after fell out: for hee espying the Duke somewhat late in the euening ryding towards his Tent vppon a litle Nagge, onely attended on by a Gentleman Vsher which went before him, and an other which talked with him: hee approched as neare as hee coule, and discharged his pistoll vpon the Duke, hitting him in the shoulder, wounded him verie sore, and so turning his horse, fled as fast as he coule. And hauing ridden all that night by by-ways, for feare of those who pursued him, he not knowing which way he went, wandred vp and downe, & in the end came againe almost to the place where hee committed the fact. Which when he perceived, he rode all the day folowing, with as much speed as possibly might be, to get out of the danger of his pursuing enemies. But hauing with continuall trauell wearied both himselfe and his horse, he rested at a farm house, where he was taken vpon suspition, and committed to safe keeping for his further triall. Being examined, and found culpable, he was adiudged to be drawn in peeces with foure horses: to haue his head cut off, and his torne bodie to be burnt to ashes.

*Poltror*  
drawne in  
peeces with  
horses.

*The Duke of*  
*Guise* died  
within seven  
or eight daies  
after his hurt

This sudden blow did manuellously dismay the Catholikes, and the rather for that it appeared to be deadly, and not possible to be healed: For he waxed worse euerie day then other, and died very shortly after, to their vspeakable greefe: who had reposed their whole confidence in him, and to the great reioycing of the confederates, whose deadly & sworn enemies he was alwayes accounted. And this was the end of that turbulent spirit, & ambitious *Guise*, who as he had massacred many: so he in the end was murdered by others, and that enen then when he thought least of any danger: nay rather fully perswaded himselfe well neare to haue attained to the full period of his wished desires. So vncertaine is the state and condition of the greatest, and most mightie personages in this variable and changeable world.

*Peace* pro-  
claimed in the  
Campe before  
*Orleance*.

The *Guise* was no sooner dead, but there ensued a present alteration: and those conditions which had beene before propounded, were forthwith fully agreed vpon, & so was there a peace proclaimed the 19. of March folowing at *S. Aemem*, in the campe before *Orleance*, wherewithall sorts in generall seemed to bee manuellously well contented, hoping to be freed frō those horrible miseries, wherewith they had bin afflicted for so many yeres. And indeed albeit this pacification held but for a while, yet did the whole land reape great fruite thereby, and acknowledged the gracious goodnesse of the Almighty, in that it had pleased him



him to giue them some respite, and to make an end of their Ciuill warres. But this blessed peace could not continue long, by reason there fell out many occasions of discontentment to either faction, by meanes whereof they were soone entangled afresh in their former sorrowes and vexations.

CHAP. VIII.

*The seditions humour of the Cardinall of Lorraine. The Admirall accused for the death of the Duke of Guise. The complaints of the Protestants. The Leaguè made at Bayon. The King refuseth to heare the Protestants. The second ciuill warre. Paris besieged by the Protestants.*



He Cardinall of Lorraine, and brother to the deceased Duke of Guise, the especiall instrument of all these calamities which hadde continued for so long time in that noble kingdome of France, inwardly vexed to see such a peaceable estate, knowing full well that it did not stande with his commoditie and profit, to see the Princes of the blond to bee fauoured at the Court, neither yet the Nobilitie and Gentlemen to liue in

*The Cardinall of Lorraine seeketh new occasions of strife.*

peace and amitie one with another, and all sorts as brethren to liue euently together, deuised a way to set all men again together by the eares, and to embarke themselves into new troubles. Hee therefore with the assent of his associates, spread abroad diuers calumniationes, and slanderous rumours of those of the reformed Religion, & being a gracious man with the Queen mother, for that their humors were but too agreeable and consonant each to other, he perswaded with her, that if shee should countenance the cheefe Princes and Lords of the Religion, and suffer them to be neerer the Court, and beare a sway in matters of State, they would draw on many followers after them, and peraduenture gaine the yong King and the Princes his brethren to be their friends, and then Conde being a man of courage and of that proximitie in blood would looke to haue his place: which if hee might peaceably enioy, her authoritie would be quickly in the dust, and the Burbons, Memorancies, and Chastillons would rule all: and as it was most likely, shee should be called to an account for her former gouernement, during the Kings nonage: and by drawing on the hatred of the Catholikes, of the Pope, and of the King of Spain, loose al her credit and reputation.

The Queenemother being iealous inough of her estate before, and nowe encouraged by the Cardinall to role enerie stone rather then to loose one ior of her authoritie, discountenanced all that shee might those of the Religion, and to be ridde of the Admirall, whome for his wisdom, integritie, valour, and vprightnesse of all his actions shee could not abide, it was deuised that hee should be charged to haue hired *Poltrat* to kill the late Duke of Guise: and to colour the matter withall, there was a counterfeited deposition of *Poltrat* exhibited, and the yong Duke of Guise was animated to demand iustice of the K. for the death of his father. But when this deuise came to the prince of Condes eare, Lord howe exceedingly was hee offended, protesting, and that openly at the

*The yong Duke of Guise set on to accuse the Admirall of the murder of his father.*

Councell

Councell Table, that hee would spend all that ever hee had, yea, and his owne life too, before the Admirall whom hee knew to be innocent, should be so injuriously handled: which speech of the Princes, with some other considerations, was the cause that this pursute ceased for that time, and a reconciliation was made betweene the Admirall, and those of the *Guyse*, at *Monlins*, immediately before the King was about to go in progresse to *Bayon*.

The com-  
plaints of the  
Catholikes  
and Protes-  
tants.

Albeit the Admirall was no further troubled at this instant, yet it was a meanes to make him hated and detested of all the Catholikes, and a principall cause of sundrie quarrelles betweene the Papists and the Protestants, which in the ende prooued so great, that they drew on a second ciuill warre: for there grewe daily complaints, each charging other with the breach of the Kings Edict, and many accusations were broached on both sides. The Catholikes complained, that the strong Townes and fortresses were not yeelded to the kings obedience, that there were many preachers which were not allowed of by the Edict, and that they preached in sundrie places expressly prohibited, that they were disgraced with many approbrious and scandalous speeches, and that there were secret practises for the leuying of Souldiers in *Germany* and other places, which shoulde bee in a readinesse vpon the first sommance.

The Protestants alleged that they were rigorously handled, and could not haue iustice when they complained: that the insolencie of the garrisons which were placed in sundrie protestant Townes, was intollerable and could not be indured: that there were daily murthers of the reformed in euery corner of the Lande, and nothing so common as robbing, spoyling, rauishing, pilling and poulling the poore Hugonots, and no punishment inflicted vpon the Authours and abettors of such horrible and detestable villanies.

The league  
made at Bay-  
on among the  
Catholikes.

The Edict of  
Roussillon.

These and the like complaints beeing often reiterated on both sides, and each faction nourishing their insuspitions, vpon euery small occasion, their rancour grew greater & greater, and those smal sparks which for a while lay couered in ashes, brake out at last into a furious and raging fire. For the Catholikes had no sooner gotten all things in a readines, exacted their cittadels into the protestant Townes, placed their garrisons, sworn their associations and leagues (which were tearmed the confraternities of the holy Ghost) and that vnder the colour of viewing the state of the Lande, the king was gone to *Bayon*, there to make a confederacy betweene himselfe and the Spanish king, and the Duke of *Alua*, to roote out all the Hugonots, but that a Million of iniuries and indignities were offered to the poore protestants. There was an Edict made at *Roussillon*, which was tearmed a declaration or an exposition of the edict of the pacification: but this was so contrarie to those articles which had beene agreed vpon before; that al men might see they had fully resolved to breake their promises with the Protestants. Then did there follow immediately after, most barbarous cruelties and tyrannicall oppressions of all sorts which made any profession of the Gospel, though it were neuer so little: which when the Protestants (to their vn-  
speakeable greefe) behelde, and that after so many iust complaints there was no redresse to bee hoped for by faire meanes, but that their vslage was likely to bee worse and worse, for that the sixe thousand Switzers were still retained in a readinesse,



dinesse to bee employed against them vppon the sodaine, as they vehemently suspected, they thought it high time to looke about them, and to studie howe they might best preuent so imminent perils.

Whereupon they wrote letters, and sent their secret messengers into al quarters, to aduertise their associats, to vse al the speed that could be made, & to come and attend the Prince of *Conde*, *Rochfaucont*, and the Admirall, *Dandelot*, and others who weretheir principall cheefestaines. This could not be so closely kept, but the *Queene* mother hadde intelligence thereof, who with the King lay at *Meaux*, a place not farre distant wherethe saide Prince of *Conde* with his confederates were assembled, and had purposed to hasten to the Court strongly accompanied, to see if they could bring their enemies to any better reason, or more equall and euen conditions. As soone as the *Queene* mother vnderstood of the dismarch of the Prince, and that hee came directly towardes the King, shee resolued at midnight to dislodge, and to hasten to *Paris*, leauing the Constable with the battailon of Switzers and some eight or nine hundred French horse, to stop the course of the Protestants: who seeing themselves ouermatched, and that they could neither by faire meanes nor by foule be admitted to the speech of the King, who was by this time gotten within *Paris*, they retired towardes *Clay*, expecting the rest of their forces, which daily repaired vnto them out of *Picardy*, *Champaigne*, *Poitou*, *Guyen*, and sundrie other places of the Land: where they stayed not long, but marched towardes *Saint Dennis*, which was a little village some two leagues distant from *Paris*.

*The Protestants begin to provide for themselves.*

*Conde with his associats go towardes the Court.*

*The King flyeth to Paris.*

Nowe beganne there to bee as it were a generall combustion through out *France*, and the warres which had ceased for a time were forthwith open on all sides: there were with the Prince of *Conde* the Cardinal of *Chastillon*, the Admirall, *Dandelot*, *Rochfaucont*, *Ienlis*, *Clermont*, *Amboise*, *Saux*, *Bouchart*, *Bouchannes*, *Piquigni*, *Lyff*, *Mony*, *Saint Phale*, *Esterny*, *Mont-gommery*, the Vidame of *Chartres*, *La Noue*, *Lauardin*, and all their retinewes. These beeing assembled, sent their humble letters to the King, vsfolding theyr manifolde griefes and dolours, beseeching his maiestie that they might bee heard, and suffered to enioy their liberties, and to haue the free exercise of theyr Religion, according to the Ediēt of Pacification, made before *Orleance*: but answer beeing returned that the Ediēt was but prouisionable, and made for the necessitie of the time, and that the King to satisfie them would not fall out with all his neighbour Princes, by tollerating any other besides the Romish Religion, they determined to gather as great forces as they could, and to besiege *Paris*.

*The second Civil warres.*

It was not long before they had gotten some 2000. horse, & 4000. footmen, with which power they first tooke *Estamps*, *Dourdan*, *Orleance*, & sundrie other places of good importance, so that stopping the auenues, and blocking the citie on all sides, they determined either to obtaine a peace with better conditions then before, or els to famish the Parisians, who could not long endure without releefe from other places. The Catholikes were not idle, but daily enterprised vppon the Protestants, fighting and skirmishing with them vppon euery advantage, and vnderstanding that theyr forces were seuered, (*Dandelot* and

*The Prince of Conde besieges Paris*

*Mont-gommery*

*Mount-gommery* beeing sent away with five hundred horse and eight hundred footmen to surprise *Poyssy* and *Pontboise*: *La Nove* to take *Orleanse*, *Nashfancourt*: & *Mony* to conduct the troupes which came out of *Guyen* and *Poitou*, to the succors of the Prince: they thought it not conuenient to let slip so fit opportunity, and therefore hauing all their forces in a readinesse, the Constable issued forth of *Paris* the tenth of *November* 1567. with three thousand horse, and about seauenteene or eighteen thousand footmen all very well armed and appoynted for the Combate, and were aranged in this manner.

The conestable  
issued forth  
of Paris

## CHAP. IX.

*The battaile of Saint Dennis. The death of the Constable of France.*

The Army  
of the conestable



His whole army was stretched out in length, more resembling a hedge then anything else, on the left side wherof were placed the battalion of *Switzers*, flanked with a good number of *harquebuziers*, all which stood to assure fourteene pe. ces of great ordinance, which were planted in the mouth of *Aubernillers*, towards which hee caused his whole army to turne head: on the left side of the *Switzers* hee appointed a regiment of *Horse*, and before them another very strong troupe likewise of *horsemen*, whereof was *Captaine* the *mareschall* *Memorancy* his eldest son. There were also on the same side the regiments of the *Dukes* of *Nemours*, *Longueville*, the *Count* *Retts*, *Chauigny*, *Thore*, *Lansac*, and many others: close to these stood a good troupe of *harquebuziers* on foote: behind all these stood the battaile of the *Parisians* brauely shining with armor, pikes, & halbards, hiding almost the side of the army Catholike, wherein was the Constable with his *Switzers*: on the right side were the regiments of the *Count* *Brissac* and *Strozzi*, and somewhat higher those of the *mareschal* *Coffy*, *Biron*, *Auety*, *Riniere*, with some others, behind whom stood the *Duke* of *Annoile*, & *mareschal* *Damill*, strongly guarded with two troupes of *horsemen*, for the better assurance of the *Switzers* and *French* footmen.

The Army  
of the Prince

The Prince beeing aduertised heereof by his espyals, and knowing that that day would not passe without a fight, marshalled his battalions as followeth.

The Admirall assisted with *Cleermont* and his two sonnes, *Renty*, sixe cornets of horse, and foure hundred *harquebuziers* on foote lead by *Valleseniere*, stood right in the face of those that guarded the side of the Constable. *Genlis* accompanied with *Lanardin*, *Vaydes*, *Bressant*, *Besancourt*, with five or sixe cornets fronted the *mareschal* *Coffy*, *Biron*, and the rest before mentioned. The Prince of *Conde*, the *Cardinall* *Chastillon*, *Sechalles*, the *vidames* of *Chartres*, and of *Amiens*, the *Counts* of *Sanx*, *La Suxe*, *Esternay*, *Conchaunay*, and *Stuard*, who commaunded ouer certaine *Scots*, with foure hundred *harquebuziers* stood lower in the forme of a battaile, couering *Saint Dennis*, faced the Constable and them who were before him, so that their forme of battaile resembled a *Croissant* or new Moone.

These



These generallies had no sooner disposed of their battailons in this warlike manner, but their great ordinance beganne to thunder, and theyr *Enfans Perdus* to attach the skirmish: *Genlis* seeing the Catholikes approach towards his quarters, ranged his men close together, and hauing desired them to go resolutely to the charge, and to enter succor one another, aduanced to receiue them, who changing their pace into a trot, reencountred them with such furie, that it hastened the death of aboue fiftie persons at that instant. The Admirall who was an olde Fox and beaten to the warres, could quickly espie his aduantage, seeing the state of the battaile, caused his harquebuziers to amend theyr march, and to putte themselves further forwardes, and being seconded by the Prince and by the rest of the Armie who were readie to receiue their part of the blowes as well as others, gaue in so lustily and so courageously charged the red crosses, that hee ouerthrew them, making them runne headlong vpon the Parisian bands, whom they exceedingly disordered and affrighted.

*The red crosses began to runne*

The Marechall *Coffy* seeing many of the Catholikes disbanding themselves, and the Confederates wholly pursuing them, crying Victorie, Victory, sent worde to the Marechall *Dannill*, and the Duke of *Anmaile*, to accompanie him to the charge. Now was the Prince hastening to encounter the Constable, vppon whome hee ranne amaine, and with such fiercenesse assailed them whom hee met, that hee quite defaced them who were much dismayed before with the fearefull sight of their companions, whom the Admirall had chased already, and made such a breach in their great battailon, that the Constable being abandoned by aboue a thousand runnawaies, finding himselfe hurt in the face, and pressed to yeeld by *Stuard* a Scot, could not for choller answer otherwise then with blowes of his sword, with the pummell whereof hee gaue *Stuard* such a blow on the lawe bone, that hee smote out two or three of his teeth, and loosed many of the rest, which when another Scotte espied, hee shotte him into the reines of the backe with his pistoll, for that hee wore but a very thin and light harness, beeing a man aboue foure score yeeres of age. Now were the Switzers maruailously astonished, and readie to take their heeles as well as others, had they not bene reassured by the Duke of *Anmaile* and the Marechall *Dannille*, who promised to liue and die with them, and likewise by the hardy onsette of the Marechall *Memorancy*, who by ouerthrowing certaine of the Princes troupes of Horse, made most of his footmen to flye, and hadde not the night so fast approached, hee had vtterly discomfited all the rest: but the darkenesse which presently ensued, caused each to return, & to draw towards those quarters where they heard the cries of their Generalles, the Protestants to the Prince of *Conde*, who played of his horse which was sore hurt and wounded, insomuch as hee began to faile him, and hee was no sooner alighted, but hee fell downe starke dead besides him. The Catholikes went towards the Constable, who was wounded to death, and seeing all things standing in so badde termes, netier pursued the Protestants, contenting themselves with the honour of the field, and the libertie to burie theyr dead. The Prince retyred backe againe to *Saint Dennis*, hauing lost the vidame of *Amiens*, *Piquigni*, *Saux*, *La Fosse*, of the *slaine*, *Saint*

*The Constable wounded to death.*

*The number of the slaine, Saint*

Saint Andrew, Garennes with three hundred horsemen, and aboute fiftie Gentlemen of Marke. The Catholikes with their generall, left behinde them dead in the field, the Count De Chamme, Hierom of Turin, and aboute fortie chieftaines and commanders, beside three hundred common souldiers, and a great multitude of maimed and wounded men.

## CHAP. X.

*The Prince of Conde leaueth Paris. Rochel yeeldeth to the Protestants. The Duke of Aniou maketh the Kings Lieutenant. Cassimer bringeth ayde to the Protestants. The siege of Chartres. Peace proclaimed in France.*

*The Prince  
raiseth his  
siege before  
Paris.*



He next day after the comming of Dandelot (who was exceeding forie that hee came not time inough to haue beene at the battaile) the Prince presented himselfe againe with all his whole power before Paris, but his enimies kept close within the walles: wherefore after hee had braued them for a good space, and had wasted and spoyled hard to the suburbs, seeing that no man durst appeare to impeach his proceedings, considering that victuals and other necessities for his army waxed scant, and that the Catholikes hourly reenforced themselves, as also vnderstanding that Cassimer was comming with a great army to his ayde, he dislodged then from S. Dennis the fifteenth of Nouember, and went towards Lorraine to receiue his Almaines. Being on his way at Montargis, hee receiued letters from Truchareis, who was a litle before elected Maior of Rochell, that if hee would sende some especiall man of account to be Lieutenant in his absence, they would yeeld the towne to his deuotion. The Prince was wonderfull glad to heare this good newes, knowing that to bee a place of no small importance, and therefore hee soorthwith dispatched Saint Hermin his Cousin with letters to the Mayor and Shriues of the towne, giuing them hearty thanks for their great fauour and kindnesse, with a request to remaine constant, and to receiue his Cousin as his Lieutenant in his absence.

1568

*Rochel yeelded to the  
Protestants.*

*The troups  
of Poitou,  
Xaintoigne,  
&c.*

*Monsieur  
Duke of*

This gentleman was very welcome to the Rochelers, where hee arriued the tenth of Februarie, 1568. and so Rochell being a maruailous strong place, accommodated with a goodly hauens, by which meanes it was growne very rich, remained euier after at the deuotion of the Confederates.

By this time were there newe troupes leuied in Poitou, Guyen, Xaintoigne, Angoisme, and Gascongne, vnder the leading of Saint Cyre, Soubize, Puiant, Pilles, and other chieftains, amounting to the number of eightene Cornets of horse, and twenty leauen enignes of footmen, who marching to ioine with the Prince, tooke by the way Dorat, Lusignan, and Pont Sur Yon, where they ioined with the vauitgard, ledde by the Admirall Chastillon: from thence passing by Sens, they tooke Bray, Nogent, Montereau, and Espernay. Thus did the Protestants stil aduance their affaires, the Catholikes being not able to impeach or hinder them, norwithstanding all their practises and deuises.

Now was Monsieur the Duke of Anion, brother to the King by reason of the death



death of the Constable, proclaimed Lieutenant generall over all his brothers territories and Dominions : who being assisted by the Prince de Nemours, the Kings *Longueville*, the Marechall *Cassy*, *Tanannes*, *Martignes*, *Carnavalet*, *Laffes*, and sundrie other great Captaines, was commaunded to bridle the Protestants as much as might be. The Duke of *Aumale* was sent into *Lorraine*, to ioyne with the Marques of *Baden*, who had rayed a power of somethree thousand horse, for the service of the King : and the Duke of *Alva* sent the Count of *Artemberg*, with a thousand and two hundred horse, and two thousand footmen Spaniards, and Burgonians, who shoulde ioyne with *Monsieur* against the Prince of *Conde*, and the rest of the Confederates. The yong *Lonsac* was sent to the Count *Palatine*, to hinder the levie of the Reisters, made by his sonne *Cassimer*, and nowe readie to march for the succour of the Protestants. Thus was there great preparation made on all sides to continue the warres, and to consume France with the flame of ciuill broyles.

*The Marques of Baden, and the Duke of Alva send forces to Monsieur.*

The Prince being aduertised of all this, hasted to meete with his Reisters, and with much adoo being followed in the taile by the Catholikes, at length arrived at *Saint Michael* : where hee passed the River of *Meuse*, and so entered into *Lorraine*, still proceeding forwardes vntill hee came as farre as *Mousson*, where hee met with *Cassimer*, and his Almains, who accompanied with the two young Countes of *Barbie*, the Count *Holo*, the Marechall of the Palatinate, *Scumberg*, and manie others of great reckoning and account, had long expected the comming of the Confederates. After some stay made for the refreshing of their wearied troupes, they determined to returne towards the pleasant and fertile fieldes of the *Flower de Lis*, there to assay if they could bring their enemies to any honest, and reasonable conditions.

*The Prince of Conde meets with Cassimer, & his Almains.*

*Monsieur* had speedie intelligence of the returne of both Armies, wherefore hee sent great numbers, both of horsemen, and footemen, to stoppe all the passages, and amongst others, commaunded the Duke of *Nevers* with his Italian bandes to defende the Rivers of *Merne*, *Scyne*, *Ton*, and sundrie other places. And that if hee could not hinder theyr course, yet he should annoy them by all possible meanes, to the ende that being wearied and wasted so much as might bee, his excellencie might fight with them afterwards in grosse, with more aduantage.

*The Duke of Nevers appointed to stop the passage of the Almains into France.*

The Protestants minding not to forslowe theyr businesse, dislodged from *Chalons*, and marched towards the head of the River of *Meuse*, and so leauing *Comercyon* on their right hande, passed ouer at *Marne*, and went towardes *Chastillon*, where they were assailed by certaine troupes of Italians, and French, who set vpon the taile of the army, to cause them to hasten their pace. But *Scumberg*, being sent with part of his owne Regiment, assisted by some fewe of the French, gaue them such a furious charge, that hee wholly defeated them, and brought theyr colours to the Prince. The armie was forthwith aduanced, and marching through *Hurepoise*, by *Bleneau*, and *Montargis*, arryued at last in *Beauvais*, and encamped before *Chartres*, which they determined to besiege, for that it was verie rich, and well able to relieue the armie with manie necessaries.

*Certain Italian troupes overthrown by Scumberg.*

The comming of this great power encouraged diuerse, who had kept them

selues close, to put forth theyr heads, and to attempt manie things in fauour of the Confederates. Those of *Languedocke*, *Provence*, and *Gascoigne*, were presently vp in armes vnder their leaders, *Sipieres*, *Montbrun*, *Adouans*, *Senas*, *Berningier*, *Rapin*, *Montaut*, and sundrie other Chieftaines. and suddenly surprised *Nismes*, *Montpellier*, *Saint Marcell*, *Saint Esprit*, *Saint Jean*, *Boue*: all which they fortified for their greater profite and securitie. The Catholikes were not idle, but sought to catch whatloeuver they coule come by, which might any way tend to their aduantage. *Montaret* gouernour of the Countrey of *Burbonois*, with *Terride*, *La Valette*, and *Monsales*, surprised certaine troupes of the Protestants, whom they quickly defeated and put to flight. *Idescon* was taken by the Duke of *Neuers*. *Mouluc* likewise tooke certaine Isles in *Xaintoigne*, and prepared all necessaries to besiege *Rochele*, one of the principall retreates of the Protestants. The Count *Martinyo*, *Rucklen*, and sundrie others, besieged *Orleanse*. Thus were they in euery corner of *Fraunce* vp in Armes, and no man knewe where to bee safest from the violence of the souldiours, and men of Armes.

*Chartres be-  
sieged.*

Now were all things in a readinesse for the siege of *Chartres*, so that hauing rayled theyr mounrs, and planted theyr artillarie, they began to beate the Citie, in verie terrible and furious maner: and hauing ouerthrowne their Towers, battered their houses, and made a sufficient breach, they were readie to giue an assault, and to assay the getting of the Towne by maine force. *Ligneres* one of the Knights of the order, was Captaine of the Towne, who endeouored by all meanes to keepe the same in despite of the Confederates, and with great celeritie repayred in the night, whatloeuver had beene broken, and throwne downe in the day: and so wisely and politiquely preuented all the stratagems of his enemies, that it was not possible for the Prince to effect his intended purpose. But the King vnderstanding that they could not long holde out, and being not able to remooue the siege, thought it best to offer the Prince a peace: which after manie meetings was at length concluded. The principall effect whereof was, that euery man should quietly enioy his Religion, and from thenceforth neuer bee troubled for their consciences. This being agreed vpon, (though contrarie to the liking of manie of the Princes best friends, and principall Captaines, who still cryed out, that the King would breake his promise, as soone as he espied his aduantage) and proclaimed in the Campe before *Chartres*, the Armie brake vp, and euery one was licenced to depart home into his owne Countrey.

*The King  
offereth a  
peace, which  
is accepted by  
the Prince.*

CHAP



CHAP. XI.

*The third civil warres. The battell of Bassac where the Prince of Conde is slaine. The Prince of Navarre chosen General of the Protestants. The death of Dandelot. The death of the Duke of Deux-ponts. A great victorie of the Protestants. Monsieur dissolveth his arme. The siege of Poitiers.*



OW was France once againe reduced to a quiet estate, and who would not haue thought, but that after so many bastonados, euery one would haue bin glad to haue nourished the same by all possible meanes, and to haue learned by their former miseries to beware, how they entred into new troubles. But such were the wicked counsels of some turbulent spirits, that they could not endure any quietnes, but gaue daily occasions to fill the whole land full of new broyles and vprores. The two late reconciled factions were continually very iealous each of others proceedings, one blamed the other for not accomplishing such conditions as were agreed vpon, and so solemnly sworne on both sides. The Catholiks alledged that the Protestants had not put all their strong townes into the kings hands, according to the tenure of the Articles of the peace lately agreed vpon: that *Rochell* did fortifie it selfe, and would not receyue the Catholikes into their former offices and dignities: that they rigged shippes, and made themselues strong at sea, and that without the kings knowledge: that *Coquenille* leuied many soldiers for the ayd of the prince of *Orange*, contrarie to the pacification made before *Chartres*. All which things could not be attēpted without the knowledge of the confederats: & that which was most strange of al, they practised to leuy soldiers in *Germany*, & other places.

*The third civil warres.*

*The complaints of the Catholiks.*

The Protestants complained, that they could not be permitted freely to vse their consciences, according as it was conditioned. That the Catholikes did still retaine the *Switzers*, and the *Italian bands*, and placed sundry strong garrisons in those townes which were of the Religion, and that such which had liued in exile, could not returne to their houses without imminent peril of their liues. Alledging withall, the horrible murders, robberies, and other execrable facts, committed vpon the persons, and goods of those of the reformed Churches. These with some others were the reasons which animated both parts to stirre coales, and to begin the warres afresh.

*The complaints of the Protestants.*

The Catholikes knowing *Rochell* to be a verie strong place, sought by al cunning deuises to make themselues maisters thereof, and with sayre promises intermingled with threats, laboured to perswade them to receyue a garrison of the Catholikes, but they would in no case agree thereto, but still droue them of with new delays. *Tauannes* was commaunded to surprise the Prince of *Conde*, who was then in *Noyars*. But hee beeing aduertised thereof, departed in great haste, with the *Princesse* his wife, the *Admirall*, and some hundred horse: and passing ouer the *Loye*, went into *Poitou*, where increasing his forces, by the comming of *Ferac*, *Soubize*, *Amouillier*, *Saint Cyre*, and *Puissant*, at last arrived at *Rochell*, in despite of all his enemies, whither not long

*The prince of Conde in danger to bee taken by Tauannes.*

*Conde comes  
meth to Ro-  
chel, whether  
the Queene  
of Navarre  
also repaired*

*Monsieur  
made lieuten-  
nant for the  
King his  
brother.*

after came the Queene of Navarre, with the yong Prince of Barne her son. Where there was forthwith a Councell helde for the managing of their future actions. The rest of the Protestant Captaines, as *Dandelot*, *Montgommery*, *La Noue*, and others, being aduertised of all these sturres, gathered what forces they could, and marched towards *Rochell*, with great speede, taking by the way, *Partenay*, *Niort*, and *Maile*, which proued afterwarde very aduanragious for the Confederates. *Anzoleme*, *Pons*, *S. Iohn d'Angely*, and *Tallebourg*, were likewise surprised by those of the reformed Religion, so that now many good townes were againe at their deuotion and commaundement.

The King being aduertised of all these designements, declared *Monsieur* the Duke of *Anjou* his brother, his Lieutenant generall: who dispatched forthwith Letters and Messengers into all parts, to assemble *Bannes* and *Arierbannes*, and to command all gentlemen, and others to be in a readinesse at the time appointed, at *Estamps*, where he had proclaimed the *Rendement*, there to attend the further pleasure of his excellencie. The protestants assembled souldiours on all sides, especially in *Langnedoc*, *Pronence*, and *Dauphiny*, vnder the conduct of Colonell *Acier*, *Montbrun*, and *Saint Romain*, who had gathered some sixteene or seuen-teene thousand footmen, and seuen hundred horse, and were marching toward the Prince, who expected their comming at *Chalons*. This new supply did maruellously strengthen the confederates, and encouraged them to proceed on in their enterprise, and to seeke their enemies, who now were growne to an head, and readie to march vnder their leaders and conductors. After many attempts on eyther side, and that both the Armies had endamaged each other, by the taking of sundry townes, and afflicting the poore Country, with a thousand miseries, both Generals resolved to trie their fortunes by an entire battaile, as soone as occasion was offered. With this resolution *Henric* Duke of *Anjou*, hauing intelligence, that the Lorde *Pilles* was comming towarde the Prince of *Conde*, with a newe supplie of souldiours, led his armie through *Poitou*, *Lymosin*, and the Countrey of *Angoumois*, and discented alongst the Riuer of *Charente*, as though hee would take *Chasteaunef*, there to passe over the water, and to barre *Pilles* from ioyning with the Prince. VVhich when the Confederates vnderstoode, they passed *Charente* at *Cognac*, with purpose to preuent the Armie of the Catholiques: who hauing gayned *Chasteaunef*, repayred the Bridge, which was in the possession of the Protestants, and made an other with Boats.

1569

*The battell  
of Bassac.*

The Admirall being appointed to impeach the making of these new bridges considering he was not able to effect that which he desired, retired vnto *Bassac*, ordaining *Soubize*, *Puniant*, and other troupes of *Poitou*, to saour his retreat. The Prince (all things being well considered) was not willing to resolue of a battaile, and therefore willed the Admirall to dislodge with the auant-garde, and to bee with him at *Farnac* the next morning by the breake of the day. Which in no wise could be performed by all: for the companies ledde by *Puniant*, could not march so speedily, the Catholikes being at their taile, and so strongly pressed them, that they could not bee disgaged, but with the hazarde and perill of all the Protestants. For the footemen of his excellencie hauing passed a Riuer, doubled their pace to gaine a little hill, which was a place



a place of some aduantage: from which they discovering how small a company the Admirall had, aduanced still forward, knowing that he could not retire, without the intire losse of all his troupes. By this time, *Puissant* was so farre engaged, that had not *La Noue*, and *La Loue*, who made the retreat of the Auangarde with fortie Harquebuziers, speedilie come to his succours, hee had remayned at the mercie of his enemies. But when as they had with all theyr deuyor succored them in their need, they were forthwith compelled to defend themselves vpon the bay of a pond, where they were so iustily charged by *Marsignies*, *Malicorne*, and others to the number of five or sixe hundred horse, that *La Noue*, and *La Loue* were taken prisoners, and all their bands intirely broken, and defeated, *Puissant* hauing charged, and finding himselfe too weake, retired to the rest of the footmen. During these hot skirmishes, sundry of the Catholikes were aduanced forwards, wherof some two hundred came hard to the village: who when the Admirall and *Dandelot* discovered, heeing ignorant of the overthrow asorelayde, for that the village hindered theyr fight, they resolutely charged: and *Dandelot* being formost with his cornet, gaue in so furiously, that he made them all to run amaine, leauing behind them *Monsieles*, and thirteene others dead vpon the place. *Dandelot* pursued them hard to the village, from whence he was no sooner returned, but those Catholikes being backed with 1200. harquebuziers, reentred more strongly accompanied then before. Whilest things passed on after this maner, al the rest of the troupes of the Catholikes began to shew themselves, euery regiment taking his place for the last encounter.

The Prince of *Conde* beeing aduertised of all this, and of the daunger that the Admirall with all the Auangard was in, if they were not speedily succoured, aduanced himselfe with those few horsemen of his barraile, which he tumultuously assembled in that vpror, the rest beeing dispersed into seuerall quarters here and there, hasted to the rescue with all the speede that might bee. Each Generall began now to seeke his aduantage, and to prepare himselfe to the fight. The Admirall espying that *Monsieur* came fast on vpon the left hand, which was the meanest to enclose the Protestants betweene the riuer, and the armie of the Catholikes, commaunded *La Touer* to bring the companies of the Auangard further forwards: which he did, and bare himselfe so, that his horse being ouerthrowne, he was taken, and beeing knowne to be the man that had slaine capitaine *Carryat Paris*, was killed forthwith, besides many others, who had no better fortune.

The army Catholike still stretched it selfe forth vpon the left hande, towards the troupes of *Soubize*, *Languillier*, *Puissant*, *Cressomere*, and the rest of the Chieftaines of *Poitou*: who thinking it not conuenient to expect anie occasion for a better charge, seeing the enemy reenforce himselfe more and more, assailed the formost Troupes with such furie, that they made them recule: but by reason of newe supplyes which were sent continuallie, *Soubize*, and *Languillier* were taken prisoners, *Mesfauchers*, *Brandamere*, and many others were then slaine. In the meane time his excellencie desirous to breake them on all sides, brought a great part of his armie an other way, purposing to enclose them, who kept the bay of the ponde, and to assaile them on the backe. But this pretence being espied, the confederates, who had

maintained the advantage of the ground a good while, though it best to retire into a place of greater safety. Whilest the fight was thus hotely continued on either side, the Prince of *Conde* with three or foure hundred horse, gaue a horse charge vpon the Catholiques: and being chaufed to see his men in rout, and the whole army to bear it lest no better, flang in with such fury, that he bare to the ground, or made to run all that were before him, vntill such time as his horse being wounded, hee was ouerthrowne, and not able any longer to doo anything for the blowes hee had receyued: and because hee was not succoured with a fresh horse in tyme, seeing his enemies to presse fore vpon him, hee yielded vnto *Argence*, and *Saint Iean*, who promised to saue his life: but *Montisquion* (as some say) passing by at that instant, smote him into the head with a pistoll, whereof he died forthwith.

The prince  
of Conde  
saine.

The admiral  
and Dandelot  
saine.  
the fleur de  
Lys.

Now was the disorder exceeding great among the Protestants, who hauing lost their Generall, began to flie as fast as they could, and to get out of the danger of their pursuing enemies. The Admirall and *Dandelot*, seeing the fight irreparable, and the affray so maruellous, retired with a few of the nobilitie vnto *Saint Iean d'Angely*, and from thence to *Xanctes*, to the young Princes of *Nauarre*, and *Conde*. There dyed in this Iourney of *Bassac*, besides the Prince, *La Toner*, young *Chastellier*, *Portant*, *Chandemer*, *Mesauclere*, *Brandaniere*, *Tabariere*, *Barette*, *La Messieray*, and aboue fiftie other Gentlemen. *Stuard* a Scot was slaine with a dagge, and diuerse other died shortly after of their wounds, *Pantant*, *Soubize*, *Langueillier*, *Corbeson* brother to *Montgomery*, *La Reue*, *La Loue*, and *Guereby* the ensigne bearer of the Admirall were taken prisoners. But shortly after *Soulize* found the meanes, to deceiue his keepers, *La None*, was exchanged for *Sesjac* Lieutenant to the duke of *Guise*. *Corbeson* and *Guereby* were set at libertie, vpon their faithfull promises. The whole number of the Protestants that were slaine in this battaile were almost foure hundred, and some two hundred Catholiques, and among them were *Montfale*, the Barons *Imprand*, and *Prunay*, the Counte *de la Mirande*, *de Morette*, *de Canare*, *Linieres*, and certaine others of marke. *Montfleur* sent the King worde forthwith of the victorie. Who presently aduertised the Pope thereof, sending him some of the ensignes, who caused them to be set vp in *Saint Peters Church*, from whence he went in procession with all his Cardinals to the temple of the holy Ghost, to giue thanks for so ioyfull successe: and so did likewise the Venerians, and duke of *Alba*: thinking that all the Protestants in *France* had beene wasted and consumed.

The number  
of those who  
were slaine at  
the battell of  
Bassac.

The prince  
of Nauarre  
choosen gene-  
rall of the  
protestants  
after the  
death of  
Conde.

But the Admirall with the principall of the confederates, gaue them quickly to vnderstand, that the matter was likely to be farre otherwise then they imagined. For they gathering together their dispersed forces, fortified *Cornac*, *Angolesme*, *Pos*, *Saint Jean d'Angely*, and other places, wherein they planted strong garrisons to amuse the armie of the Catholiques, vntill the coming of the Duke of *Deux Ponts*, who was already marching with a great power, to the reliefe of the confederates. And hauing choosen the young Prince of *Nauarre* for their Generall (who promised to spende his life in defence of their cause, and neuer to abandon them, vntill an assured peace were established) renewing their troupes, which amounted well neare to fortie thousand horse, besides their footmen, provided all necessaries to begin the wars afresh.



afresh, and if it might bee to repaire their former losses. Dandelot was sent into Poitou, to view the strength of their forces in those quarters, and to gather as much money as possibly hee could, for the payment of the Souldiers: where after he had very wisely and polittikely aduanced his busines, and gotten good store of gold and siluer for the maintenance of the warres, in his returne fell into a burning feauer, whereof hee died shortly after at *Amboise*, to the unspeakable greefe of the Admirall, and all those of the reformed Churches. Hee was very valiant, polittike, and passing skilfull in all warlike affaires: prouident to foresee all dangers, couragious and hardy in all his enterprises, liberall, courteous and affable, and therefore wonderfully well beloued of his souldiers, who thought themselves able to encounter with any whatsoeuer, so long as they had him for cheefetaine and commander: and therefore they bewailed the losse of him as of their father.

*Dandelot died of a burning feauer.*

*The praise of Dandelot.*

The Duke of Deux Ponts, who was hastening to the aide of the Protestants, had in his armie seauen thousand and five hundred Reisters, and sixe thousande Lansquenets, with whom were ioyned the Prince of Orange, the two Counts *Ludouicus* and *Henry* his brethren, with a small band of their followers: besides *Maurilliers* the marquisse of *Beuel*, *Féquierès*, *Clermont*, *Mony*, and *Estermay*, with certaine ciuillings, sixe field peeces, and a good number of Musquetiers: with those companies he got forward as fast as hee might, still gayning ground, and approaching the territories of France, notwithstanding all the hindrances and lets which were giuen by the Duke of *Autmaile*, who with a great power was appointed to stoppe the passages, and to barre this *Almain* Duke out of the fertile countrey of the *Flower de Lis*: but that could not be, for still hee passed forth, and at last rested himselfe before *La Charité*, a towne of great importance, and situated (as it were) in the heart and bowels of France. The Towne was verie straightly besieged, and planing his battery, he beat the wals in such furious manner, that those within being not able to holde out, and dispairing of any succours in time, yeelded vpon composition, to haue their liues saued, and so was it sacked and spoyled by the Lansquenets. The taking of the towne was no small aduantage to the confederates, as also the losse thereof did much hinder the fortunate course of the victorious Catholikes, who now began to consult how to impeach the two armies, that they should not meete and vnite themselves together: but doo what they could the Duke still aduanced forwardes, passed through *Lymosin* so farre as *Cars*, where falling sicke hee dyed of a quartaine Feuer, to the exceeding greefe of all his friendes and followers.

*The Duke of Deux Ponts cometh to ayde the protestants with a great power*

*La Charité besieged and taken by a composition.*

*La Charité sacked.*

The Princes being aduertised of the coming of the Duke, and the taking of *La Charité*, halted to meete them, leaving *La Noue* Captaine in cheefe ouer *Poitou*, *Rocheil*, and other places vnder their obedience: and ioyning with the *Germanes* at length neere vnto *Cars*, were not a little gladde in their hearts, albeit they were mightily crossed by the death of their principall and cheefest leader.

*The death of the Duke of Deux Ponts.*

*The Protestants had in their army*

When all the confederates were ioyned together, they first sent a supplication to the King, desiring a peace: but when they could not bee heard, nor those miserable warres which had so long tormented poore France, could haue any ende by faire meanes, they proceeded on, and purposed to assay if by fine

*some tenne or twelue thousand horse, and twenty thousand foot force men.*

force, they could compell their enemies to any honest and reasonable conditions: the better to effect this, they determined to get as many strong townes as they could into their hands, aswell in the Countrey of *Lymosyn* as other where. But the Army of his excellencie was nowe so strongly reenforced with the troupes of the Duke of *Aumaile*, as also with one thousand and two hundred horle, and foure hundred footmen, all Italians, and vnder the conduct of *Saint Fior*, nephew to the Pope called *Pius Quintus*, that they did continually coast them, & maintained sundrie braue skirmishes with the confederates, barring them from executing many of their enterprises, and at length each Army meeting together neere vnto *Rochabeville*, had almost tryed their quarrell by an entire battaile: for *Monsieur* hauing encamped vpon a goodly plaine, and entrenched his armie round about in most defensible maner, sauing at one corner, placed there a strong *Corps d'ugard* (composed of the two Regiments, sometimes commaunded by the valiant Counte *Brissac*, and nowe ledde by the two Captains *La Barthe* and *Goat*, who still lamented the death of their generous collonell) to defende that quarter from all sodaine inuasions of the Protestants. This *Gard* was quickly espied, and the Admirall aduertised thereof, who was very desirous to remooue them further off: but for that hee did not well know their strength, he thought it good to deale warily, and to go with al his whole forces to this exploit, beeing a matter of so great importance, purposing to enterprife further if occasion serued. Whereupon all the troupes were forthwith arranged and put in battaile array: the Admirall assisted by *Beaumois*, *La Noelle*, *Briquemant*, *Soubize*, *La Noue*, *Teligny*, and others, led the vanguard followed by their seueral Cornets, and a great Host of Reisters, conducted by Count *Ludovic*, brother to the Prince of *Orange*, who were flanked with the Regiments of *Beaudissine* and *Piles*, and on the left hand with *Roumray* & *Ponille*: a strong battalion of *Lansquenets* backed the auaungard, which carried in the front eight field peeces. The battaile marched after, led by the Prince and *Rochfaucant*, with the aide of the Prince of *Orange*, Count *Henry* his brother, and the Count *Mansefeld*, flanked likewise with another battalion of *Lansquenets*, which guarded the rest of the field peeces.

Thus went the Protestants very well appointed to assaile the two Regiments, who beeing aduertised by their Vedettes or espials of their approach, prepared themselves against the inuasion of their enemies. It was not long before the *Enfans perdus* of either side beganne the game, and were followed very lustily by the rest of their associates.

A great victory of the Protestants.

*Strozzi* taken prisoner.

Though the Catholikes were but a few in respect of the Protestants, yet remembering their former honour (for they were esteemed the brauest and valiantest bandes of all the whole Army) and beeing animated by the Collonell *Strozzi*, did lustily maintaine the fight, and would not giue an inch of ground, thinking to be succoured in time by his excellencie. There was a long and terrible fight, and many were slaine on both sides: but this *Corps d'ugard* being overcharged with the multitude of Confederates, was (in the ende) wholly overthrowne and put to flight. Collonell *Strozzi* was taken prisoner, hauing lost his Lieutenant *La Loup*, with the choyest men of the Regiment, and 50. men of Marke at the least, and some foure hundred common Souldiers: *Monsieur* not minding



minding to hazard his fortune at that time, suffered the Protestants peaceably to enjoy their victorie, and being counselled to breake vp his Armie, and to distribute them in the garrisons vntill the 15. of August following, euerie one retired to their appointed places, leauing the confederates to range vp and down at their pleasures, who forthwith got *Tiuseres, S. Sulpice, Confolant, S. Genais, Chatelerand, Lusignan*, and many other places, so that now fortune began to smile vpon them more then at any time before, and maruailously to fauor their proceedings: and seeing themselves maisters of the field, and that there was no man to make head against them, they resolved to besiege the strong Towne of *Poitiers*. With this determination they marched forwards, and encamped before the cheefe Citie in *Poitou*, seeking to addethat likewise vnto the rest of their conquests.

*Monsieur dissolued his army.*

*The Protestants besiege Poitiers.*

His excellency beeing aduertised heereof, sent forthwith the new Duke of *Guyse*, commanding him to put himselfe within the Towne, and in any wise to keepe it from the Protestants, who accompanied with the marquesse *De Main* of *Guyse* sent his brother, *Ruffec, Onoux*, and sundrie others his followers, entred *Poitiers*, where after hee had viewed the walles, and considered of all necessaries requisite to endure a siege, hee fortified the Towne with the aduise of the Counte *Lude*, the Gouvernour of the Countrey, as strongly as could bee deuised, the better to maintaine it against the enemye, who not long after approaching, first gained the suburbs, and sundrie other places of aduantage, notwithstanding all the impeachments giuen by the *Guyse* and other Catholikes. Then raised they their forts, cast vp their mounts, entrenched themselves, mounted their Ordenance, and beate the Walles, Towers, and Bulwarks, in all terrible and furious manner that might bee. Those within stood valiantly to their defence, and by often sallying forth and skirmishing, endamaged the assaillants exceedingly, who by reason they were men of courage and resolution, they maintained their owne for a long while. But in continuance of time, after the losse of manie of their forwardest Souldiers, they beganne to keepe in more close, and were content to holde whatsoever was within the Walles, and for that victuals beganne to waxe scant, by reason all the passages & waies were so stopped, that nothing could enter for the releefe of the besieged, they thrust out many of their vnnecessarie people, and spent their victuals among the rest as sparingly as might be: and yet for all that they were brought to that extremitie, that they were forced to eate their horses, asses, and dogges, and to fill theyr hungrie mawes with many course meates; yea, such was their misery, that they thought it impossible to holde it for any long time, and therefore were readie to yeelde vp the Towne, haddethey not beene dissuaded by the Duke of *Guyse*, the Count *De Lude*, and some fewe others, who vowed to spend their goods, liues, and whatsoever they hadde, rather then by yeelding vnto their enemies, to blemish their honour and reputation: but all this serued to little purpose, had not *Bidolier* the yongest brother of the Count *De Lude*, by a witty and ingenious deuise, stopping the Channell of the Riuier, caused it to discharge it selfe ouer all the low meddowes which lay on the side of the Citie, by which meanes the confederates were vterly disappointed of their hope, and that at such time as they thought all had been theirs.

*The Duke of Guyse sent to defend Poitiers.*

*Great penurie of victuals in Poitiers.*

*The ingenious deuise of Bidolier.*

Now

Now began the affaires of the Protestants to go backwards, and every day to bee crossed more and more: for shortly after their victuals failed them, and great multitudes of their armies fell sick, and no small number were greuously wounded and hurt: the Admirall himselfe fell into a desperate disease, and all men thought he should neuer haue recovered. *Rochefaucom, Acier, Briquemant, Beauuoise, La Noche*, and others of speciall account were so sickly and weake, that they were forced to remooue from the Army, so that not one of them (except the Admirall and *Acier*) were able to bee at the battaile of *Montcounter*.

The Protestants raise their siege before *Poitiers*.

*Monsieur* besieges *Chateherand*.

*Monsieur* raises his siege.

All these miseries being considered, as also the comming of *Monsieur* to raise the siege, the Admirall with the aduise of all the principall men in the Army, resolved to dis campe, and to leaue *Poitiers*, to the great comfort and reioicing of all the Catholiks: and to watch the Army led by his excellencie, who was now marching towards *Chateherand*, to the ende to gaine it from the Protestants. His whole power consisted of 10000. footmen, 3000. Reisters, one thousand Italians, and two thousand French horse: with these forces hee besieged *Chateherand*, which hee so beate with his great Artillery, that the breach being found reasonable, euery man cried to the assault. The Italians who had the honour to aduance first, went very brauely forwardes, and made countenance as though they would haue entred at that instant: but the valiant and noble *La Loue*, one of the Mareschalles of the Campe, and an especial man among the confederates, hauing the keeping of the Townes, gaue him such a welcome, that after the slaughter of many of their forwardest leaders (as *Fabian de Mont*, *Ossian de Montale*, *Malatesta* a Collonell, and aboue two hundred others) they retired in haste to free themselues out of such perill. *Monsieur* being dismayed with this losse, and vnderstanding that the Admirall with his whole armie was at hande, thought best to remooue his siege, and to depart to a place of more securitie, and there to stay vntill he had assembled the rest of his troupes. The protestants beeing quickly enformed heereof, pursued him at the heeles, and often skirmished with him by the way, vntill they came to a conuenient place, and fir for an entire fight, where they presented the battaile: but his excellency refused, referring himselfe for a more fortunate time.

## CHAP. XII.

*The Battaile of Montcounter.*

The battaile of *Montcounter*.



After some small reposing of his wearied and tired bandes, and that his Army was reenforced by the comming of fresh Souldiers, so that hee thought himselfe able to match the Confederates, hee againe returned towards them, purposing to trie it out by some bloody fight, as soone as any oportunitie was offered. The yong Princes, the Admirall, and the rest of the cheefest Protestants, were quickly aduertised of his intent, who for that the aduancement of their affaires consisted principally in celerity and expedition, as also in assailing their enemies, whereby they did the better maintaine



maintaineth their honour and reputation, and likewise the importunate desires of the *Almaines*, who were continually crying vpon the Admirall that they might fight, determined to accept the journey, as soone as it was offered in any fit and conuenient place.

They had not marched long, but they came to the plaines of *Saint Clere*, not farre from *Montcouter*, which his excellencie vnderstanding, caused his troups to amend their pace, purposing to stop their course, and to compell them to a generall combate, which was a thing that hee much desired.

The Admirall who commanded all, by reason the Princes were but yong, finding the plaine (afore said) to be a conuenient place to darraign the fight, arranged his battails in the most conuenient ground hee could choose, and there expected the comming of his enemies: and hauing sent *Mouy* and *Saint Auban* with certaine Cornets to discouer the Catholikes, he in the meane time lodged his Ordinance vpon certaine litle hilles, and made the battaile which was led by *Ludowick* Count of *Nassau* to aduance more on the right hande, to whome were deliuered three Cannons and one Culuering. The aduauantgard was on the left hand, led by the Admirall himselfe, assisted by *Puygrefssier*, *La Nove*, *Tellionny*, and certaine others, backed with the Count *Mansfeld*, and a great battalion of Reisters, besides the Laniquenets conducted by *Cranuilliers*. All which hauing killed the ground after their accustomed maner, swore to succour each other, and to die in the place rather then to giue one iot of ground to their enemies. These were likewise flanked on both sides with the Regiments of the French harquebuziers, led by *Pilles*, *Routray*, *Briqueman*, the yonger, *Ambres*, and *Chellar*: the whole army consisted of 6000. horse, 8000. harquebuziers, 4000. Laniquenets, six Cannons, two culuerings, and three musquets.

His excellency with the direction of his best aduisants, deuided his whole forces into a vanguard and a battaile: the aduantgard was composed of Frenchmen, *Almaines*, and *Italians*, ledde by the Prince *Dauphin*, the Duke of *Guyse*, *Martimes*, *Chauigny*, *La Valette*, the Count *Vvestenberg*, the *Reinorane Bassompier*, *Saint Fior*, *Paul Sforza*, *Dissei*, *Santelle*, with well neere three thousand horse: The grosse battalion of *Switzers* which consisted of foure thousande, was led by *Collonell Clere*, flanked with fise Regiments of harquebuziers, Frenchmen and *Italians*, vnder the conduct of *La Barthe*, *Sarlabois*, *Onoux*, and sundry others: ouer all these commanded the Duke of *Montpensier*. The battaile was composed of the Dukes of *Aumale* and *Longanille*, the Marechal *Cossy*, *Fauannes*, the Marquesse of *Pilliers*, &c. with three thousand horse, and another Count *Mansfeld* cousin to the Protestant, and fise Cornets of a thousand or a thousand and two hundred horse. The marquesse of *Baden* had wel neere a thousand horse vnder his leading: these were flanked with the Spaniards & Burgonians, which the Catholike K. had sent to the aide of his brother. All these had they *Enfans Perdus* in their fronts, who carried death engrauen in their foreheads, as well for themselves, as for whomsoeuer they first attached. All this Armie which consisted of aboue nine thousande horse, 17. or 18. thousand footmen, and 15. peeces of great Ordenance, was commaunded by his excellencie, and beeing ready arranged, awaited when the signe shoulde bee giuen: but first they fought a farre off with theyr great shotte, which for that it

was

*Mony with  
his hands  
defeated.*

was skilfully directed by the Cannoneres, made a fore slaughter on both sides. This thundering and terrible noyse was no sooner ceased, and the Artillery retired, but the Trumpers sounded *De dans, dedans*, and the Duke *Montpensier*, went resolutely to the Charge, and gaue in so hotly vpon *Mony* and his Regiment, that hee being abandoned by his two Corners of Reisters, who were appointed to second him, was forced to get him as fast as he could out of the danger, and to saue the greatest part of his troupes among the footmen: who being mightily dismaide with so pittious an accident, lost their hearts, and disbanding themselves, ranne all away for the best game. Now beganne the Duke of *Guyse* with his Associates to come lustily forwardes, and in their appointed quarter to charge their enemies: who receiued them with equall courage, so that there grew a very warme fight on both sides. The harquebuziers whome the Admirall had interlaced among his French Launces, played the men, and set of the Catholikes at their pleasure, knowing they were well assured by their horsemen, who serued to guard them at their neede.

*The princes  
withdrew  
themselves  
from the batt  
tells as for  
cretly as they  
could.*

The Admirall, who by reason of his great experience in the warres, both at home and abroad, and the diligent marking of so diuers euents as had run before his eyes, iudging of the sequell by this vnfortunate beginning, counselled the yong Princes to retire as couertly & with as smal a traine as they could: but many whose eyes were prying about, and glad to take any occasion to bee gone, espying the retreat & coueting to enfranchise themselves, from so great perill as was present before their faces, would needes accompanie them whether they would or not, so that they had quickly more attendants then eyther they expected or desired.

*The admirall  
hurt, and in  
danger to bee  
taken.*

By this time was the rest of the aduauantgard which was led by the Admirall and *Asier*, hotly charged by the Reisters Catholikes, who so furiously encountered them, that many ended their daies at that instant. The Admirall himselfe was in such danger, that hee was hurt in the face, through the default of such as should haue couered him, and was so farre intermedled among the Catholikes, that had not Count *Massfeld* with foure or fise cornets of Reisters disengaged him, he had vndoubtedly fallen into their hands who Ioued him but a little.

*The mar  
quess of Ba  
den slaine.*

While these bloody broyles were continued betweene the aduauantgards, his excellency caused his maine battaile to dismarch, the right wing whereof, in which was the Duke of *Anmaile*, and the marquesse of *Baden* with all his Reisters, gaue in so farre afore the rest, that the marquesse was there slaine, and many others for, companions of that mortall charge: and *Monsieur* himselfe, albeit hee marched full vpon the discouerie of the great Artillery, made such haste, that he left the Switzers vnder Collonell *Phiffer*, and their generall *Memois*, with the other battailon very farre behind: which when the Protestants troupes discovered, they casting themselves desperately into his esquadron, breaking in euen hard to their Cornet, made them that followed his excellencie to abandon the place: notwithstanding, al the deuoir of the Duke *De Longanille*, *Tauannes*, *Carnauillet*, *Villars*, and others, who indeuoured with all their might to repell the insisting confederates: in a word, this charge was so terrible, that the most assured Enlignes beganne to turne head, and had not the marshall *Cosse* with his Switzers halted apace, the battaile had quickly beene at an ende.

Count



Count *Lodowicke* seeing the Mareſhall aduance, thruſt in verie luſtily with his troupes of *Almaines* and *French*, who ſought it out moſt couragiouſly. By this time had the Mareſhall *Biron* rallyed diuerſe diſperſed troupes, and with his owne, which as yet remayned vnbroken, and the *Switzers*, went directly towards the *Lancequenets*: but they beeing abandoned by their horſemen, and ſhrewdly galled with the *harquebuziers*, were expoſed in a manner to the crueltie of the *Switzers*, their ancient enemies, who entering in as it were at the breach, committed a wonderfull carnage and mortalitye among them. Of foure thouſand there eſcaped not paſt ſometwo hundred, or there aboutes. And the ſame miſfortune had fallen vpon three thouſand *Frenchmen*, which were arraigned with them, had not *Monsieur* of a generouſ and noble nature contenting himſelfe with the honour of ſo glorious a victorie, commaunded to ſaue their liues.

And this was the end of this great battell, where both the *French men*, *Almaines*, *Italians*, *Burgonians*, *Switzers*, *Flemings*, and *Lancequenets* had leſure to trie their valours at the full. The *Proteſtants* loſt at this encounter, three thouſand *Lancequenets*, and a thouſand five hundred *Frenchmen*. There periſhed alſo of men of name, *Taigny*, *Parveſſier*, *Dantricourt*, *Biron* brother to the *Catholike*, and *Saint Benet*, the enſigne of the *Admirals* companie. *La Noue*, and *Acier*, were taken priſoners, and their *Reiſters* loſt all their Wagons. Of the *Catholiques* there periſhed ſome five or ſixe hundred horſemen, and twiſe ſo manie were grievouſly hurt, whereof the moſt part liued not long after. The Count *Reinraue* the elder, the *Marques of Baden*, and *Cleremont of Dauphinie*, were ſlaine. The yong *Reinraue*, the *Earles of Iſſi*, and *Santelle*, *Italians*, with the *Duke of Guiſe*, *Scomberg*, *Baſſamper*, and *de Maille*, were ſore wounded, but afterwards recouered.

## CHAP. XIII.

*Saint Iean d'Angely*, beſieged and taken by the *Catholiks*. The king offereth a peace, which was reſuſed by the *Proteſtants*. *Monsieur de Bellegard* is ſlaine.



He loſſe of this battayle gaue a maruellous checke to the *affayres* of the *Proteſtants*, who now were dryen to forſake the *Champaigne*, whereof they were maſters not long before, and ſundrie of their followers beganne to ſhrinke, thinking that all had beene loſt, and manie good Townes which before fauoured their proceedings, fell quite from them in deuotion, and followed the good fortune of the victorious *Catholiques*. So mutable and chaungeable are theſe earthly matters, and are ſet in ſo fickle an eſtate and condition, that one woulde thinke, that euen God himſelfe, who guideth and governeth all with the eye of his providence, were delighted with an alternative courſe, and continuall chaunge in all things.

Albeit the *affayres* of the *Proteſtants* ſtoode but in a deſperate eſtate, yet lyke men of great courage, wiſedome, and policie, they woulde not ſhrinke

H

from

The number  
that was ſlain  
on both ſides.

A great alſo  
ration in the  
*Proteſtants*  
affayres.

from the cause, but sought as it were to begin the game afresh, and by all meanes to maintaine their honor and credits with al their associates. And (if it might be) to repaire their losses, or at the least, to keepe that which remained in their possessions. Whereupon they fortified sundry townes, as *Niort, Angouleme, Saint Jean d'Angely, Rochell*, and others, with assurance that the worst of these were sufficient to stay the Catholikes, if they should happen to attempt them, vntill they had gathered some new forces. They also wrote letters, into all quarters, to assemble new troupes, and left nothing vnattempted, which might any way tend to the aduancement of their affayres.

His excellencie following his good fortune, tooke forth with sundry good townes, as *Parthenay, Niort, Lusignan, Fontenay*, and some others, all places yeelding vnto him of theyr owne accorde: so that hee neuer stayed his courie vntill hee came before *Saint Jean d'Angely*, whereof the Lorde *Pilles* was Gouverneur. And hauing summoned the Towne, and they within returning an aunswere that lyked him not, hee forthwith planted his siege, and placed his Cannon, and with maruailous furie plyed the batterie. And for the greater

*S. Jean d'Angely besieged by the Catholiques.*

*The King and Queene mother come to the campe.*

terroure of the besieged, the King, the Queene mother, the Cardinall of *Lorraine*, accompanied with a great troupe of Nobles and Gentlemen their attendants, came to the Campe, who were saluted with a thundering peale of Ordinaunce, intermingled with fundrie vollies of small shotte, besides many fireworkes, and warrelike deuises, as well to welcome their Maiesties, as to daunt and dismay the besieged Protestants. But they as men resolute to maintaine theyr lyues and libertyes, encouraged each other valyauntlie to abyde the furie of the Catholiques, and laboured day and night to repayre the breaches. Yea, they resolutely floode to theyr tackeling, and so souldiourlyke bare themselves, that after manie hore skirmishes, and desperate assaultes, beeing men of noble valour, and commaunded by a generous and

*S. Jean d'Angely yeelded upon condition*

1570

couragious Chieftaine, the King was content to take the towne vpon composition, and to offer them honourable conditions, promising them leaue to depart with bagge and baggage, with their ensignes displayed, and to bee safelie conducted whither soeuer they woulde: But before the King coulde bring them to this passe, hee had spent a long time, lost the valiaunt *Martignes, Desfains* one of the maisters of the Campe, with manie other most singular and braue leaders, and well nere teene thousand common souldiours. So that this siege gaue the Catholiques as shrewde a checke, as that of *Poitiers* did the Protestants.

*The King inclines to a peace.*

*The Protestants refuse a peace.*

The King beeing greatlie wearyed with these broyles, beganne of his owne accorde to incline to a peace, supposing in deede, that those of the Religion would accept of any conditions. But they beeing too often before beguyled with fayre wordes, woulde not hearken thereto, least the world should thinke, that they were no longer able to maintaine their cause: a speciall plotte (sayd they) to discountenance the rest of theyr proceedings. VVhereupon both the Catholiques, and Protestants, still continued to vexe each other in all hostill manner. The Count de *Lude*, and *Puygalliard*, recovered *Marans, Broages*, and many other Islandes from the Confederates, which were againe regayned by *La Noue*, and stronglie fortified for the further aduancement

ment



ment of the affayres of the Protestants. Who preuayled also verie mightily by Sea, taking manie great pryfes, which were no small meanes to further theyr designements.

Whilest things fell out in this maner about *Rochell*, the Princes, the Admirall, and the rest of the chiefeft of the confederates, had greatly encreased their forces, and hasted to ioyne their troupes with *Montgommery*, *Monlune*, and other Chieftaines, who had gathered a great number of harquebuziers, to supply those bandes, which had beene broken at the battell of *Montcouter*. And hauing thus reenforced their army, they marched towards *Lorrain*, there to attend the comming of theyr Almaynes. And as they passed through *Langueducke*, and came neare vnto *Mountpellier*, *La Loue*, one of the Mareschals of the campe was slaine, as he was fast asleepe in the dead of the night, through the great negligence of the Sentinels, who beeing suddenly surprisid by the garrison within the Towne, were the cause of the death of this braue Chieftaine: who for his valour, courage, and noble conduct, was highly commended of all the Protestants.

*La Loue*  
slain through  
the negli-  
gence of the  
Sentinels.

Many townes were gayned by the Princes in these quarters, as *Lunell*, *Nismes*, *Margarite*, *Saint Ambrose*, *Saint Jean*, *Saint Private*, *Bezouze*, *Castillon*, *Alets*, with sundry other of good importance: by which happy exploits, the confederates did begin afresh to countenance themselves, and to recouer much of their former honour and renowme. When as the King was aduertised of all their designes, and how that they dayly encreased their forces, surprisid many castels, & strong holds, and were now almost ioyned with their Reisters, with whole ayd they resolved to returne againe into the heart of *France*, and peraduenture once more to besiege the capitoll of all the Kingdome, he dispatched forthwith the Mareschall *Cossy*, with an armie, wherein were 4000. Switzers, 6000. French harquebuziers, some 3. or 4000. horse, and twelue great peeces of Ordinance, with which forces he marched towards the princes, who were incamped at a place called *Saint Jean*, in *Burgundy*, with some 2500. harquebuziers, 2000. horse, and eightene cornets of Reisters. These two armies came no sooner in view each of other, but that their *Enfansperlus* began the game, so that there was a hot skirmish on both sides. The Prince of *Berne*, and *Conde*, were there in person, each of them in the front of their Regiment, and resolutely bent to go to the charge, and there to make the first triall of their fortune. The fight continued long, and many were slaine: but the Catholikes hauing the worse, after they had lost *Monsieur de Bellegard*, one of the Knights of the order, besides diuerse others of good accout, were forced to suffer the Protestants to passe, who hasting on their way, after great trouble, and a long and painefull iourney, hauing in a maner rounded all *France*, at the last they drew neare to *La Charitie*, *Sancerre*, *Amrin*, *Vezelay*, and other Townes of the Religion, where they defended themselves to theyr maruaylous comfort and contentation. Nowe was the treatie of peace before mentioned reiterated, and earnestly pursued by diuerse, who perswaded the King, that these intestine warres consumed none but his Subiectes: that the murders, robberies, burnings, and such like miseryes, would be the confusion of the whole state, and that who so euer gayned, yet hee lost, the great impouerishing of the Crowne of *France*, and the viter destruction

*Montcouter*  
church.

*Mareschal*  
*Cossy* sent  
against the  
Princes.

*Monsieur de*  
*Bellegard*  
slaine.

*The King*  
perswaded to  
peace.

of that noble kingdome, which had beene the paragon of all Europe.

These and the like reasons induced the King at length to condescend to a peace: which was accepted by the confederates, and published in the yere 1570. to the great comfort of all the French, and exceeding quiet of the whole land: where we may see the strange and wonderful mutabilitie of mens minds, which as they are not long contented with one & the self same estate: so do they seldom or neuer like the better, before they haue beene well scourged with the rod of their owne folly, and taught by wofull experience howe to discern betweene good and bad.

## CHAP. XIII.

*Peace proclaimed in France. The mariages of the King, the Duke of Montpensier, the Duke of Guise, and the Admirall. The Queene of Nauarre goeth to the Court. The Admirall goeth to the Court. The death of the Queene of Nauarre.*

*Peace pro-  
claimed.*



He kings Edi& for the establishing of a peace was no sooner published, but that the forces on both sides were forthwith licenced to depart. every man to his owne house, which hee had not seene for a long time before, to the vnspcakable ioy of the protestants, & no small comfort to the better and honest sort of the Papists, who as mariners that haue escaped some dangerous & troublesom tempests, and are arrived safely in their wished port, held vp their hands to heaven with giuing thanks for so vnspcakable a blessing, and earnestly entreated the almightie, that they might spend the rest of their dayes in peace and quietnes.

*The King  
marrieth.*

*Duke of Mont-  
pensier mar-  
rieth.*

*D. of Guise  
marrieth.*

*The prince of  
Conde mar-  
rieth.*

*The admirall  
marrieth.*

The Princes with the Queene of *Nauarre*, and sundry of the chiefe of the Protestants, as the Admirall, the Count *Lodowick of Nassau*, *Teligny*, *La Noue*, and diuerse other withdrew themselves to *Rockell*, for their greater securitie, vntil they might see how the kings Edi& would be executed. Now began there a great alteration in the minds of the French, & all mens actions were suddenly changed (as a man would haue thought) after a strange & wonderfull maner. For where as not long before there was no talke, but of hatred, wrath, murder, bloodie broyles, and most cruel and vnnaturall warres, now was there nothing so much spoken of, as loue, amitie friendship, and making of mariages. The King was espoused to *Isabel* the second daughter to *Maximilian* the emperor, whose nuptials were solemnised with great pompe and magnificence. *Lois* of *Burbon* and Duke of *Montpensier*, married with the Duke of *Guises* sister, and the Duke of *Guise* matched with the widowe of the late Prince *Portion*, one of the principall of the Confederates. The Mareschall *Cossy*, and *Prontiere* one of the Secretaries of estate, were sent vnto *Rockell*, to treat with the Queene of *Nauarre*, as touching a marriage, betweene the Prince of *Barne* her sonne, and the Ladie *Margaret* the Kinges sister: a thing in shewe highlie tending to the honour of the Prince, and the establishing of a perpetuall peace and amitie with the Confederates. The Prince of *Conde* was married to *Marie de Cleues*, the youngest daughter to the Duke of *Neuers*: the Admirall with the daughter of the Count of *Entremont* in *Sauoy*, and the young *Teligny* with *Lois* of *Colligny*, the



the Admirals daughter: thus was there nothing but feasting, banquetting, singing, revelling, and making of loue, throughout all the partes of *Fraunce*.

1571

The king seemed to stande highly contented with this peace, and began dayly more and more to countenance the Protestants. For hauing once perswaded the Queene of *Nauarre* to come to the court, both he, the Queene mother, the Dukes of *Anion*, and *Alençon*, the Kings brethren, did in certaine her in most louing and friendly maner, making her the best welcome that might be imagined. Count *Lodowicke*, brother to the Prince of *Orenge*, who attended her, was likewise verie honourably receyued by the King, who promised him to ayde the Prince his brother agaynst the Spaniard, and for that purpose had commaunded preparation to be made both by sea and land, as though he had intended to begin the warres with all speede: so that the King desired nothing more then to aduance the affayres of the Protestants. The marriage of the yong Prince of *Barme*, and the conquest of the lowe Countreys, were the things that the King seemed to affect most. And because the Admirall was a verie wise man, an olde Souldiour, the best experienced Captaine of all *Fraunce*, and most skilfull in warlike affayres. The King sent the Marechall *Cossy*, to *Rockell*, to perswade with him to come to the Court, and to asist his soueraigne in so honourable an enterprise, the Admirall at the first was very vnwilling of himselfe, and had dayly aduertisements to disswade him from that voyage. But after many perswasions vsed by the Marechall, sundry friendly messages from the King, and his fatall mishap (as it were) leading him thereunto, he suffred himself to be gained, and to be wooed, by those who indeed loued him but a little.

*The Queene of Naurre goeth to the Court,*

*The admirall goeth to the Court.*

He was no sooner come to *Paris*, but the people flocked together to see him, as to see a wonder. The King receyued him with much kindnesse, giuing him great honour, calling him father at euerie worde. And when the Admirall kneeled, the King arole and tooke him vp, protesting that he was the most welcome man liuing: and that neuer any day was more iolful vnto him then that, wherein he did see the end of so many miseries, and the beginning of peace and quietnesse for the whole lande. And among manie other speeches, hee chaunced to vtter these words. Nowe we haue once gotten your companie, you shal not depart from vs: and this hee vttered with great laughter, as a token of much ioy and delight. The Queene mother, his excellencie, the Duke of *Alençon*, and all the principall Courtiers welcomed him, with farre greater honour then he expected: and that which was more: all these courtesies were accompanied with the great liberalitie of the Prince, who gaue him an hundred thousand pounds in recompence of his losses sustained in the former wars, besides the reuenues of the benefices which were belonging to his brother *Odet* the Cardinal of *Chastillon*, who was lately deceased in *England*. He was also admitted into the Kings priuie Councell. His sonne in law *Teligny*, was verie much honoured. *Carnages* was made one of the maisters of the requests: and to be short, all the Admirals friends raisted of the kings liberalitie, to the great contentment of the Protestants, and the maruellous grudging of the Catholics.

*His entereinment,*

1572

This honourable dealing, gaue great hope of the continuance of the peace, and the encrease of amitie amongst the French Nation, in so much

as the most rested secure, reposing themselues in the saythfull promises of their prince: yet manie suspected that all was but holy water of the Court, and alluring baytes to catch the poore Protestants, and afterwards to dispose of them as should be thought for their most aduantage: following (said they) herein the olde *maxime* in pollicie, which is that where the skin of the Lion will not serue, there it is best to put on the foxes coat. The Queene of *Nauarre* was earnestly dissuaded by sundry letters from many of her friends, from giuing her consent to the mariage. The Admirall was likewise aduertised by secret messengers, that in no wise he should go to *Paris*, nor come within the reach of his enemies: but all would not serue, so desirous were they of the yong princes preferment, & so maruellously blinded at that instant. But whilest the Queene of *Nauarre* was at *Paris* busied in prouiding for the mariage of her son, she suddenly fell sicke and died the 10. of Iune, 1572. to the great grieve of those of the reformed religion, who exceedingly bewayled the death of so vertuous and constant a Lady, and one that had beene a most noble maintainer of the truth all her dayes.

## CHAP. XV.

*The Massacre at Paris.*

He sudden death of this Queene, bred a sore suspicion, that she was poisoned, and withal brought some delay the to mariage: but at length all doubts being cleared, & both parties agreed, the time appointed for the solemnising of the nuptials being come, the yong King of *Nauarre* and the Lady *Margaret* were affianced with great solemnitie, in our Lady Church in *Paris*, by the Cardinall of *Burbon*, the 18. of August, 1572. in the presence of the King, the Queene mother, the Duke of *Anjou* and *Alençon*, the Prince of *Conde*, with all the principall protestants. The mariage ended, there was nothing but banquetting, chearing, tilting, and all the deuises that might bee to please the eie, and delight the eare, & to set forth all things in most royall and magnificent maner. All old rancour and malice seemed to be buried in the pit of obliuion, by reason of this new alliance, which confirmed the hope of a most blessed peace in the time to come. But in the midst of all this ioy and solace, there fell out a sudden accident, which astonished some, and made others to bethinke themselues, and to suspect the worst, and that was this.

Vpon the 22. of August, as the Admirall was going from the Court toward his lodging, hee was suddainlie shotte with a harquebuz out at a window of the house, where *Villemaur* (who had beene schoole-maister to the Duke of *Guise*) did vsually lodge, and sore wounded with three Bulletes, as hee was going a soft pace in the streete, and reading a Supplication, which had beene deliuered vnto him a little before. One of the Bullets stroke off his fore finger, and with the other hee was wounded in the left Arme. The Admirall poynted to the house from whence the peece was shotte, and willed some of his Gentlemen to go search who was within: sending Captaine *Pilles*, and Captaine *Monius*, to aduertise the King of his hurt.

Whilest



Whilest he was led home by the lord *Guerchy* & another gentleman: the doore, of the house being broken open, the harquebuz was found, but the harquebuzier was fled out at a backegate, and finding a spanish Gennet which was there provided in a readinesse, galloped away with all speede, crying as hee went, that now there was no Admirall in *France*.

Captaine *Pilles* finding the King at Tennis with the Duke of *Guyse*, related vnto him the Admirals hurt, which hee no sooner vnderstood, but he leauing his play, threw down his racket, & looking very pensiuely, went to his Chamber: the king of *Nauarre*, the Prince of *Conde*, the Count *Rochefaucont*, and many other Lords, knights and Gentlemen of the Religion, being enformed of this mishap, went presently to visit the Admirall. The King taking with him the Queene mother, his two brethren, and most of the principall Catholikes went likewise to comfort him, shewing many signes of great sorrow for his harme, complaining that indeede the Admirall felt the harme, but the dishonour was done to the King, vpon whose faithfull promise hee was come to the Court, and therefore both hee that had committed the fact, and all that consented thereto should bee most seuerely punished, to the example of all other villanous and notorious malefactors: whereto the Admirall answered, that hee would leaue the reuenge to God, and the execution of Iustice to the King, but as for the aurther hee was knowne well inough, and because hee could not tell how long hee had to liue, hee besought the king that hee might talke with him in secret, touching things of very great importance, and such as were most necessarie for the state of the Kingdome. The King seemed to bee willing herewith, but the Queene mother by a deuise brake off their talke for that time, so that there was no further conference: and because the king of *Nauarre*, the Prince of *Conde*, and diuers others, moued the king that they might haue leaue to carrie the Admirall to his house at *Chastillon*, which was some two daies iourney from *Paris*, as to a place of greater quiet and securitie: the king not willing to condiscend thereunto, answered, that so long a iourney would very much endanger his health: and therefore he thought it better to haue him lodged in the *Louure* neere vnto his owne person, where he should be safe from all perill: furthermore he willed all the cheefe of the Protestant Nobilitie, to place themselves as neere him as they could, in case that if there were any need they might be readie to succour one another, and appointed the Mareſchall *Coffy* with a band of harquebuziers to guard his lodging. Vpon the Satterday, which was the twenty three of August, the councell sat about the examination of certaine witnesses touching the fact, and sundrie other suspected persons, taking great paines (as it seemed) to bould out the truth, as though they meant to punish the offender with all rigour and feueritie. With these and the like apparances, the protestants helde themselves well satisfied, neuer suspecting that all was but dissimulation: and that so great mischief did hang ouer their heads.

The same day there was a sodaine rumour ouer al the Citie, that the king had sent for the Mareſchall *Memorancy*, commanding him to come to him with al the forces hee could make, and therefore the Parisians were best to stande vpon their guard: but all was founde in the end to be vterly false. *Teligny* being giuen to vnderstand by the Admirals trumpeters that there were sixe cart loads

*The notable  
dissimulation  
of the King.*

*The king goes  
ash to visit  
the Admirall*

*The wolfe  
appointed to  
keepe the  
Lamb.*

of

of Armour brought into the *Louvre*, answered that hee did not like that men should bee so suspicious without cause: for his part hee was well assured of the Kings good fauour, and wished other men were so likewise, feeling it was not possible that there should be any harme intended towards them whome the king had honoured so many waies, and had oftentimes so solemnely sworne to remaine theyr gracious and louing soueraigne.

But the king with all those of his secret counsell, seeing that they had nowe brought all things about euer, as they had desired, and that the Admirall was taken in a trap and all his principall associates, so snarled in their nets that it was impossible for them to get out, thought it high time to putte in execution that which they had purposed so long before, and at that instant to finish the dayes of all the Protestants. Whereuppon a signall was given in the dead of the night by the touling of a Bell in the *Louvre*: which was no sooner heard by *Cassy*, who (as is already sayde) with a bande of harquebuziers guarded the Admiralles lodging, but that hee commaunded his men to breake open the doores, and to kill as many as they founde in their wayes. The Admirall hearing the noyse and fearing some seditious enterprise, willed one of his Gentlemen to call to the guard which was appointed him by the King, little imagining that it was they that came to offer him such violence, and arising out of his bedde, putte on his night gowne, and kneeled downe to pray.

By this time were sundrie of the murderers gotten in, & had slaine such as they found in the house. The first that entred into the Admirals chamber was one *Besme* an Almaine, a desperate ruffian, one of the Duke of *Guyse* household seruants, who with his drawne sword in his hand, sayde: Art thou the Admirall? who answered with great constancie, So I am called. Which hee had no sooner vttered, but that *Besme* runne him through with a sword, and another called *Atinius*, shot him into the brest with a Pistoll, and the rest as *Causius* and *Sarlaboix*, flabbed him with their daggers, and threw him out at the window, to the Duke of *Guyse* and *Aumaile*, and the *Chualier of Angolessme* (who was King *Henry* his bastard) all which stood crying out to make a quicke dispatch, and would not depart thence vntil they were assured of his death, and for that hee was so bloudied about the face by reason of his woundes vpon his head, that it was hard to know him: the *Guyse* kneeled downe and wiped away the bloud with his handkercheffe, and seeing it was hee whom they looked for, cryed out, that they hadde made a happie beginning, willing them to proceede for it was the Kings pleasure, and that the K. commanded them to spare none of the Hugonors: and this hee vttered very often and with a loude voyce. A certaine Italian cutte off the Admirals head, and hauing embalmed it, sent it to *Rome* as a present to the Pope. Some cutte off his handes, and others his secret partes, and hauing trayled his body through the streets, hung vpp his dead carcase on a gibbet at *Mountfaulcon*: and this was the lame table ende of this noble Gentleman, who for his wisdom, pollicie, courage and constancie in the profession of Gods truth, and maintenance of the same, was one of the most excellent and famous men that euer was bred and brought vp in *France*.

The Admirall murdered.

The Admirals head sent to Rome.

The great commendation of the Admirall.

The



The same day that the Admirall was hurt, the king aduised his brother in law the king of *Nauarre*, to cause some tenne or twelue of his trustiest friends to lodge nere him, the better to defende him if the Duke of *Guise* (whom he rearm'd a shrewd boy) should happen to attempt any thing against him. These Gentlemen and some others who were lodged in the king of *Nauarres* outer Chamber, after the death of the Admirall, and that they were disarmed by *Nancy*, hauing their swords and daggers taken away, were brought to the gate of the *Louvre* and there were murdered before the kings face. Then were the king of *Nauarre* and the Prince of *Conde* brought before the king, who tolde them that hee would not suffer any more Religions in his Land then one, and therefore if they loued their liues, they must now become Catholikes and go to masse, for hee meant not to beare with them any longer. The king of *Nauarre* made a very submisse and humble answer: but the Prince of *Conde*, who was of more stout and couragious nature, replying otherwise then the king expected, was threatned with the losse of his head if hee relented not within three daies, and so was sent to prison, beeing first called obstinate, seditious, and rebellious traitor, and the sonne of a rebellious traytor.

Nowe beganne the Courtiers with the kings guard, who were appointed to massacre the Protestant Nobilitie, to kill and murder all sorts in most outrageous manner. The Count *Rochefaucont* so greatly beloued of *Henry* the second for his conceited and pleasant humour, adorned with so many excellent graces and noble vertues, fit for a perfect courtier, was forced to yeelde vp his life to these mercilesse wretches, who saluted him with this pittious godmorrow. *Teligny de Montrenill*, the Admirals sonne in Law, and for his humble and milde spirit, graced with a singular dexteritie in the mannaging of all publike affaires, very deere vnto his Wife and prudent Father, was scene of many, but no man was so hardy as once to touch him, vntill at last a stranger that knew him not, ranne him thorow with a Rapier, as hee was bewailing the death of so many braue men. The Barron of *Pardaillon*, the Barron of *Pilles*, *Soubize*, and *Puniant*, all very famous and worthie men, hauing beene commanders in Cheefe, and well worthie for their rare vertues of better fortune, were there murdered after a most disloyall and trecherous manner. The marquesse of *Reuell* was hotly pursued as hee fled in his shirt towards the Riuer side, and there was slaine by *Bussy of Amboise* his neere kinsman. *Monsieur* the kings brother, at the request of *Archam*, the Captaine of his guard, who was amorous of the Lady *Chasteneray*, sent certaine souldiers to kill *La Force* her father in law, who had thought that they had likewise slaine both her brethren: but there was but one founde dead, and the other beeing very sore wounded, escaped by reason he was couered with the dead body of his Father, where hee remained vntill the euening following, and then secretly conueyed himselfe into the lodging of the Mareschall *Biron* his kinsman: which when his sister *Chasteneray* vnderstood, being sorrie that shee could not be heire as she earnestly desired, she went to the Mareschals house, sayning that shee was maruailously glad that her brother had so escaped, desiring to see him, that shee might comfort him: but the mareschall smelling her intent, would not bewray where hee was, and by that meanes saued his life.

The king of  
*Nauarre*  
and the  
prince of  
*Conde*  
brought be-  
fore the king.

Count *Rochefaucont*.

*Teligny*.

The barron  
*Pardaillon*,  
*Pilles*,  
*Soubize*,  
*Puniant*,  
The mar-  
quesse of  
*Reuell*.

By

By this time was the signall giuen to such as commanded ouer the common people, to make dispatch of the rest of the Protestants, who beeing in a readinesse, and encouraged by the Duke of *Guyse*, *Amable*, and *Neuers*, flew euerie one that fell into their handes: yea, they so greedily thirsted after innocent blood, that in a short time they had made such a martialous carnage and butcherie, that the streetes seemed to be paved with dead carcases, and Carts were laden with the bodies of men, women, and children, which were throwne into the Riuer: death and desolation walked about in euerie corner of this Cittie, and that in most gastly and greuous manner, to the extreme horror and drede of euerie beholder. There was nothing but weeping, wayling, and lamentation, and a most wofull and fearefull crie throughout the whole Cittie.

*The Protestants in saint Germaines escape by flying away.*

*The king helpe to murder the Protestants.*

*The number of Protestants slaine in Paris.*

*The shamelesse fall of the Queene mother.*

About the breake of the day, the Duke of *Guyse*, *Neuers*, and *Amable*, brethren in euill, and the cheefest authors in that pitious tragedie, went to awake sundrie of the Protestant Nobilitie, who were lodged in the suburbs of Saint *Germain*, as the Vidame of *Chartres*, the Count of *Mont-gommery*, the Lord of *Fountainay*, *Caumont*, *Columbiers*, and many others, who beeing aduertised of that which had happened, supposed at the first that it had beene some vprore of the people, and therefore purposed to haue gone to ayde the King, fearing there had beene some danger towards his person: but on the sodain they discovered 200. armed men, and those of the kings guard, who cried, kill, kill, shooting at them, and that in the kings sight, who also (as is reported) took a harquebuz, and swearing and blaspheming in most heathenish maner, cried out, shoot, shoot, Gods heart, they flie, they flie. As those of the reformed Religion saw this, they fled with all possible speede, leauing whatsoever they had behinde them, being pursued by those three Dukes before remembred. The Bastard of *Angolessme* and diuers others (who wounded some, and had killed many, had they not beene hindred by the negligence of the Porter, who mistooke the keyes of the gates where they shoulde haue issued forth) was the occasion that the Protestants had some little time giuen them to provide for their better securitie.

They were no sooner gone, but the Switzers of the kings guard, and sundrie courtiers spoyled their houses, killing whomsoever they found, & cruelly murdering both man, woman, and child: all that day, being the 24. of August, 1572. was spent in massacring, rauishing, & sacking, so that there perished by this turkish and barbarous villany, about 10000. persons, as well noble men as Gentlemen, presidents of courts, counsellors, aduocates, schollers, preachers, physicians, proctors, marchants, artisans, women, maides, and children. All places were full of dead carcases, the thresholds, gates, and posts of the kings pallace were painted with the blood of the slaine: yea, the chanel overflowed therewith, and the water in the Riuer was turned into a red colour: such and so horrible was the slaughter and butcherie which was made vpon the poore Hugonors. The king, the Queene mother, the kings brethren, with many Lords and Ladies of the Court, went out in the euening to view the dead bodies, and among others the Queene mother would needes see the nakednesse of *Soubize*, for that shee had beene enformed that hee was not able to get any children.

The



The king not satisfied with the slaughter of so many brauemen within *Paris* sent letters to the *Gouernours* of all his principall Cities, as *Orleance, Tours, Meaux, Amiens, Bourges, Tholoux, Lyons*, and diuers others, that they should likewise kill all the Protestants within their iurisdiction: which commandement was forthwith put in execution, and a most horrible slaughter followed in all places, which bereaued aboue a hundred thousand of their liues within the territories of *France*, in so much as that it was verily thought that all that were of the Religion were eyther slaine, or else fled into forraine Countreyes.

*The number of protestants, slaine in other places.*

## CHAP. XVI.

1573

*Rochel holdeth out against the King. The beginning of the fourth Ciuil warres. The siege of Rochel. The siege of Sancerre. The Embassadors of Polonia come to the campe before Rochel. Monsieur raiseth his siege.*



Howould not haue thought but that now the Gospel had bin utterly extinguished in *France*, & that the Catholikes by this execrable deuise, should haue attained to the full period of their desires, no man of name remayning to make head against them, or to crosse their fortune which nowe seemed so mightily to fauour their designs: and indeede the king was verily perswaded that at this present he might haue accomplished whatsoeuer hee would, and that not any durst haue shewed themselves to fauour the reformed Religion. Whereupon he wrote letters to sundry Protestant townes, commanding them to receiue popish Garrisons, and to liue after the Catholike manner, but they vterly refused to satisfie the king heerein, and would not bee induced to condescend vnto any such thing, by all the perswasions that could bee vsed, but fortified themselves as strongly as they could, purposing to die, rather then to yeeld and abiure their Religion.

*The King deceiued in his expectation.*

The King, partly by threatening and menacing the king of *Nauarre* and the Prince of *Conde*, and partly by faire promises, but especially by the wicked ministry of *Rosier*, who of late was become an apostate, had caused them to abiure their Religion, and to conformance themselves to the rites of the Romain church, and thinking them to be fit instruments to gaine sundrie strong Townes, who otherwise would not open their gates but by force of Cannon: caused them to write their letters to such as hee thought meete, and to vse all the reasons that might bee to draw them to his obedience, by which deuise some relented, and were content to follow the example of those great Princes, seeing they had no hope to maintaine their cause, hauing lost all their cheefestaynes and principall commanders. But *Rochel, Sancerre, Montauban, Nismes*, and some other held out, standing vpon their guards, and prouiding to fortifie themselves in all defensible manner that might be. Many perswasions were vsed to gaine *Rochel*, which of al other was the place of greatest importance, and that which the king most desired, as being the principall retreat of the Protestants. Diuers messengers were sent thither, who promised golden mountaines: and Marechall *Biron* endeuoured by all meanes to put himselfe within the Towne, but they vterly

*Rosier being a minister and of great credit with the Prince of Conde, had recanted his Religion, and by his perswasions caused the Prince likewise to denie his.*

*Rochel and sundrie other townes hold out against the King.*

refused

refused to accept of any other Gouvernor then theyr Maior, purposing to maintaine their Religion, customes, and liberties; and that with the losse of their lines. When the king was aduertised heereof, and that he evidently perceiued that faire meanes would not preuaile, hee resolved to besiege the Towne, and by force of Armes to bring them vnder his obedience. Whereupon hee commanded *Biron* to gather a great armie, & to inuest the Rochelers with al speed, who did not onely by themselves crosse the designements of the Catholikes, but were the occasion that many other townes in *Gascogne*, *Languedock*, *Quercy*, *Poitou*, *Auvergne*, and *Dauphony* beganne to plucke vp their spirits, and to oppose themselves against the kings proceedings.

The begin-  
ning of the  
fourth ciuill  
warres.

Rochel besieged.

Besides the forces that the Marechall brought by land, there was a great number of shippes appoynted to keepe the seas, and to stop vp the hauē that no victuall or other necessities should be conueyed in by water, nor any be suffered to go forth to giue any aduertisements to their confederates. All things being thus appointed in a readinesse both by sea and land, the Duke of *Alençon* the Kings brother, and his Lieutenant generall throughout all his dominions, departed from *Paris* the tenth of Ianuary, 1573. accompanied with the Duke of *Alençon* his brother, the king of *Nauarre*, the Prince of *Conde*, the Duke of *Montpensier*, the Prince Dauphin his sonne, the Duke of *Longueville*, of *Bouillon*, of *Guyse*, of *Anmaile*, and of *Neuers*, the marquesse of *Maine*, the marechals of *Cossy*, *Retz* and *Biron*, the Count *Rochefaucont*, *Chauigny*, *Mouluc*, *La Valette*, *Mauleuier*, *Pauvy*, *Puyalliard*, *Clermont*, *Du Gas*, *Cosseines*, with many other Lords, knights, and Gentlemen, who no sooner arrived at the Campe, but they were saluted with a thundring peale of great Ordenance, and all the battailons of footmen stood readie arranged, who likewise welcomed him with their whole volleys of small shot, to the high contentment of his excellencie.

*Monsieur* vnderstanding that there were a great number of very valiant and resolute men within the Towne, who were all commanded by the noble and polittike chieftaine *Monsieur de la Noue*, of whose wisdom, courage, and va-

La Noue.

The Rochelers would not trust the faire promises of Monsieur.

dour hee had often times before made good experiment, thought it best to assay if with smooth words & faire promises mingled with some threats, he could induce the Rochelers, to submit themselves wholly vnder the Kings obedience, assuring them, if they would so do, the king would deale most graciously with them, and requite their loyalty with such fauor, as they should haue good cause to hold themselves well contented: but if (on the contrarie) they stubbornly refused to condescend hereunto, and like a rebellious rable, wilfully rejected, and vndutifully contemne so great grace offered by their soueraigne, then they should looke for no fauour hereafter, but for all the extremitie that might bee, and that hee would not desist from persecuting them both with fire and sword, vntil he had taken their towne, & seene such punishment inflicted vpon them, as the nature and qualitie of so traiterous a fact required.

Those within being taught by other mens harmes to beware, & hauing learned by wofull experience not to trust any faire promises that came from the Court, seeing the king and all his Courtiers hadde so notoriously falsified their words in former times, thought it best to stand vpon their guard, and not to be beguyled with such alluring baits: which when his excellencie perceiued,

hee



hee commanded his armie to approach neare the towne, to encircle them  
 sides, to raise Mounts, to plant their Ordnance, and to annoy those within,  
 as much as might be. The Canon was no soone placed, but forthwith  
 played upon the Towne very furiously, and to the great terror of such as had  
 not been acquainted with the like sport. Those of *Rochelle* were very idle but pro-  
 vided all necessaries to stop such breaches as should be made, and answering the  
 Catholics with such shot as they had, often insulting out, and skirmishing with  
 their enemies with notable courage and alacrity. Yea the women, maydes,  
 and children would expose themselves at hazard, and adventure forth among  
 the souldiers, chying them wine, comfers, & such like: marvailously animating  
 such as fought with their cheerfull words, & hardy examples. And one among  
 the rest so farre aduancing, that in the hottest of the skirmish, she seeing one of  
 the Catholics slain, ran vnto him and tooke away his sword, and harquebuz,  
 which she carried into the towne with great triumph, and reioying, sayde, that  
 she had adorned herselfe with the spoiles of her enemies. *The courage of the women*

The third of March, whose with in discharging a Minion from the Tower of  
*St. Iohn Evangelist*, pierced one of the enemies gabions, and encountering *Clau* *The Duke*  
 of *Brittain*, Duke of *Anjou*, peer of *France*, and Lieutenant for the King in  
 the Duchie of *Burgundie*, stroke him sturke deade, to the great griefe of sundrie  
 of the Catholics, of whom he was verie much beloued, for his many excel-  
 lent and commendable vertues. And being incensed agaynst the Rochellors  
 for this fact, seeing they could get nothing with open force, thought it best to  
 assay what they could do by a more secret meanes: whereupon they fell to vn-  
 dermining, & spent along time in digging, and delving vnder the ground, en-  
 deouoring to blow vp their walles, and to ouerthrow their towers & bulwarks,  
 with gun-powder. But they within so nobly & valiantly defended themselves,  
 and so politickely preuented all their stratagems, that they could not by any means  
 accomplishe their desires. Yea, they seemed so little to regard all their endeuors,  
 that vpon *May day* in great ioyntie and triumph, they decked their walles, and  
 towers: and with drums, drums, futes, and other muscull and delightfull  
 instruments, seemed to spend the day in myrrh and solace, as though they little  
 or nothing cared for their enemies. *Many who secretly feared the religion, seeing the great courage of the*  
*Rochellors, and their happy successe in holding out so long a time against such a*  
*mighty power, began to phayke vp their hearts, and openly to shew themselves;*  
*so that now great numbers were vp in Armes in* *Peillon*, *Pantogne*, *Quenir*,  
*Ample*, *by Daphin*, and sundrie other parts of the land: so that the Catholics  
 who thought that they had destroyed all the Protestants in their Parish  
 members, found themselves marvailously deceived, and many signes appea-  
 red of newe ciuill warres, and those as troublesome and dangerous, as any o-  
 thers before. Euenow the King, and all the French Catholics, were  
 growne so odious, both at home and among forrign Nations, that all the  
 Worlde spake shame of such barbarous and straunge cruelties: and such Pro-  
 testant Townes were strongly fortified, so would not yeelde by any per-  
 suasion. Yea, discarding the Kings worde, who had so often and so so-  
 lemnly promised his word, to the great dishonour, and shame of his princelie  
 dignitie,

dignitie, and perpetuall staine of the French nation.

The mar-  
shal Damill  
in Langued  
docke.

The siege of  
Sancerre.

The great  
famine in  
Sancerre.

The father  
and mother  
eat their own  
child.

Those of  
Sancerre  
yeeld upon  
composition.

The exam-  
ple of a faith-  
full servant.

Whilest his excellencie with a mightie power besieged *Rochel*, the Marechal *Damill* lieutenant for the king in *Languedocke*, was sent to reduce all those quarters vnder the Kings obedience: but he found it a matter of more difficultie then he at the first imagined, for albeit he entred the countrey with a strong power, purposing to besiege *Nismes*, a place of the greatest importance of all the rest, and by force to constrain it to stand at the deuotion of the Catholikes, yet was he in the end after some losse, at the least of thousand of his best souldiours, before a pette village called *Sancerre*, compelled to giue ouer his enterprise, and to disperie his men into garrisons, the better to relieue them, and with all diligence to muster new forces to repaire his broken troupes.

Which when those of *Sancerre* vnderstoode, beeing notably encouraged by the surpasing valour of their Confederates, they resolved to endure the vntermost attempts of *La Chastre*, and all the Catholiques, and therefore, whereas by reason of theyr long siege all vittailles beganne to bee scarce, necessitie (the mother of all fine inuentions) taught them to make manie hard shifts, and to deuise new and straunge meates. For after that they had first eaten vp all theyr Horses, Asses, Dogges, Cattes and such like, they deuised to make meate of their Skinnes, roasting, seething, and broyling them vpon Girdirons, as if they had beene Tripes, Mice, and Rattes were accountest daintie delicacies, and well was hee that could get them. And being still pressed with hunger, they deuised to make meat of old shoes, hornes, horses and bullockes hooies; which had lien hid in the dung-hills for many yeares: the little children would broyle and rost their girdles to fill their emptie mawes. Rootes, hearbs, and barkes of trees, serued in steade of iunketting dishes: whatsoeuer had any moysture, taste, sapour, or smell, were it neuer so vnholosome, they ate it with greedinesse. And albeit they were often shewed of the daunger therof, yet would they not take heede: for the belly had no cares. Yea, so intollerable was the famine, that they ate the verie dung, especially of horses, which was accounted indifferent good, and therfore raked it together, as a thing of much price. The father and mother eat their own child, which was pined to death with hunger, & for so horrible a fact were both burned. It is incredible what misery was in that towne, and yet they would not yeeld, nor comit themselves to the mercy of their enemies. But at length the famine still increasing, & hauing not past 400. souldiers left, and those for the most part sickly, weake and wounded, and seeing no hope of any succors from any their confederates, were content to hearken to a parle, which was offered vnto them by *La Chastre*, and so by composition to render the towne, with the castle into the hands of the Catholikes, who had spent at the least 1014 canon shot, for the gayning of the place, & lost some 1200, or 1300 men, besides a great number that were wounded and sore hurt.

Albeit that the *Rochellors* had now for a long time very vallantly borne them selues, and with their often skirmishes and sallings forth maruailously annoied the assailants, insomuch as that besides the losse of a many common souldiours, and sundry of good account, his excellencie had likewise beene vndoubtedly shamed, as hee was going to view the *Mynes*, had not one of his Gentlemen, whose name was *Vau*, espying the fying of the peece, by putting himselfe before



before his maister saved his life, by receiuing the bullet into his owne bodie: yet their prouision being wel neare spent, and the famine encreasing very sore, they beganne to bee maruellously dismayed, fearing some mutinie among the people: and the rather for that they had founde them very desirous to come to a composition with the enemies. But God did miraculously help them in this extremity, by sending into their haue an exceeding multitude of muscles, cockles and small fishes, wherewith they plentifully stored themselves in despite of all the Catholikes.

*Rochel mirac-  
ulously re-  
lieued.*

As this extraordinarie prouision did mightily encourage the inhabitants to hold out: so did it not a little dismay their enemies, and made them much more inclinable to peace then before: for they hauing besieged the towne for a long time, and endured much hunger and cold, hoping at last to gaine it, as a recompence for all their labours, did now dispaire thereof, seeing it was so extraordinarily victualed, and as it were relieued from heauen. Besides, the Catholikes themselves began to fall into want and penurie, their souldiers waxed sick, and many did dayly drop away: their wounded and hurt men were so many, and so negligently looked vnto, that it was a most pitifull spectacle, to behold so many lazars and maimed persons in one place, who for want of necessarie attendance grew incurable: yea, the lice did so abound among them, that sundry were euen eaten and consumed with them, and the rest became so filthy, that they would haue loathed any to haue seene them.

*The miser-  
able estate of  
the Catholikes  
at the siege  
of Rochell.*

About this time came the Ambassadors of Polonia to the campe, to signifie vnto his excellencie, that he was chosen king of that country. Which dignity they humbly desired him to accept of, and with as great speed as might be, to hasten thither, and to take the gouernment of them, who with all duty and obedience werewilling to receiue him as their king and soueraigne. Monsieur being exceedingly glad of this good news, and extreemly weary of the siege, which had wasted so manie of his brauest men, desirous to see an end of the wars in France, and to take possession of the Polonian Diadem, which he had so long thirsted after, was content to offer such reasonable conditions as the Rochelors liked of: so that both parties being (contrarie to al expectation) suddenly agreed, the peace was proclaimed in the later end of Iuly, & the siege presently raised, to the vnspeakable comfort of all those of the reformed religion. Wherein sundry haue obserued, and not without good cause, the variable estate of this inconstant worlde, which is euer wauering, and cannot continue long without chaunge and alteration. For those who thought that euery man would haue bowed at their becks, and that the strongest townies in all France durst not once haue made so much as any shew to resist their power & puissance, did now see themselves in a maner ouerthrowne by a handfull of men, who not long before were at their wits end, and all their counsels brought to naught: so that they were forced (after the losse of manie braue souldiers, and valiant captaines, besides the expence of many thousands of Crownes, hauing lien before a little village seuen or eight moneths) to depart with dishonour and disgrace, hauing gotten nothing but blowes, wherewith they wasted and wearied themselves, and to seek some better place to refresh their weake and diseased troupes.

*The ambassa-  
dors of Po-  
lonia come to  
the campe.*

*Monsieur  
raises his  
siege before  
Rochel.*

## CHAP. XVII.

*Those of Quercie and Languedocke refuse peace. The Mareschals Memorancie and Cossy committed to prison. Mareschall Danuill ioyneeth with the protestants, Montgomerie landeth in Normandie. Istaken and beheaded at Paris.*

1574



Y the narration of that which is already past, every one may vnderstand the enterchangeable course, and vicissitude, both of the Catholike and Protestant affaires. And that as well the one as the other, had sufficient tryall, of the ebbing and flowing of their fortune. Now let vs see, if after so great experience of their daily calamities, brought forth and nourished by reason of their ciuill dissensions, they waxed any wiser, or more warie how to preuent future mischiefs.

*Those of Quercy and Languedocke, refuse the peace.*

Although that many, as well Protestants, as Papists, were very glad of this late reconciliation, and with ioyfull hearts thanked the King for their desired peace: yet those of *Quercie, Languedocke*, and (in a worde) all the Prouinces towards the Leuant seas, were not satisfied therewith: for that (said they) their enemies, and the authours of those execrable Parisian murthers, were still the Kings principal fauourits, and nearest about his person: and therefore they were little assured of any security, but rather had cause to feare another massacre, considering the king was ruled by such bad counsel. And further, that there had bin many as strong Edicts, and as solemnly sworn as that at *Rochel*, and yet they proued but wordes without effect, and serued but as nets to catch the poore Protestants: that with fraudulent and subtile deuises, they had euer preuailed more then by open force: and therefore now it stood them vpon (after so much schooling) to take better heed vnto themselves, & to beware of the practises of those, who thirsted for nothing so much as for their blood, and the viter abolishing of their Religion, which they had for many yeares maintained with the daunger of their liues: adding withall, that this last pacification was made but with some particulars, without their consent, and therefore that they were not bound to keepe it, further then they liked of it.

*The assembly of the Protestants.*

These and the like reasons were alledged by a great number of the Confederats, who hauing bin often deceiued, would not now so readily giue care vnto faire promises, but meant to stand vpon their gards, and as warily as might be, to watch the Catholikes at euery turne. And to the intent they might the better maintaine their reputation, and with greater dexteritie manage their affayres, they first assembled at *Millau* in *Rouergne*, and afterwards at *Montauban*, where after long and mature deliberation, they established an orderly course for the rest of their proceedings. And hauing gotten sundry strong townes, forts and castels into their handes, they flatly refused those conditions of peace, which the Rochellers had accepted, & fortifying themselves with a newe association and league, began to annoy the Catholiks with open warre.

*The mareschals of Memorancie and Cossy.*

The King being about this time incensed against the Mareschals of *Memorancie* and *Cossy*, committed them to prison, and suspecting the Mareschall *Danuill*,



to be of their confederacie, deprived him of his Lieutenantship in *Languedoc*, *Coff* come and gaue it vnto the Prince *Dauphin*, son to the Duke *Montpencier*. Which when the Mareſchall vnderſtoode, hee aranged himſelfe with thoſe of the Religion, *miſſed to priſon*, ſeizing vppon ſundry ſtrong townes, as *Montpellier*, *Beucary*, *Lunell*, and others, *Mareſchal* fortifying them with ſufficient garrifons, and all other neceſſaries. There were *Dan* alſo great numbers of the Catholikes, who receyuing ſmall fauour at the Kings hands, neither were ſorewarded for their ſeruices as they expected, grew male- *with with the* contents, and ſeeing *Monſieur* the Kings brother was departed into *Polonia*, they thought it now fit time to take their aduantage, and by leaguuing themſelues with the Proteſtants, to reforme the policy of the land, and to reclaim the king, who (ſaid they) was wholly miſſed by the wicked counſels of ſuch, as were ſtrangers and enemies to the Crowne of *France*.

They had alſo practiſed with the Duke of *Alenſon*, the Kings yongest brother, to take part with them, and found him not vnwilling to becom their leader, and generall in this ſo hautie an enterpriſe. And where as the Rochellers would not for a long time be drawne to ioine with the reſt of the Proteſtants, & malecontents, at laſt through the dexteritie and politike inducements of *La Noue*, a man of great credit among them, they were contented to bee embarked into that action, and to provide all neceſſaries, for the maintenance of the future wars. *Rochellians with with the reſt of the Proteſtants*.

The Confederates hauing all things thus in a readineſſe, attended the departure of the Duke of *Alenſon*, the King of *Nauarre*, and the Prince of *Conde*, from the Court, and for their better ſafetie had ſent ſome two hundred horſe to *Saint Germain* in *Lay*: but the King being made priuie hereof, and his excellencie diuerted by *La Moly*, the proceedings of the Proteſtants were mightily croſſed, *The Duke of Alenſon alſo ſwaded from going in the Proteſtants*, for the time: howbeit, like men of courage, and reſolution, they went forwards, and openly inuaded the Catholiques, both by ſea and land. *Montgomerie*, who for a long while had beene in the Ile of *Gerſey*, landed on the ſudden in *Normandie*, ioyning with the *Columbiers*, and incorporating himſelfe with the *Norman* troupes, made ſharpe warre vpon the *Papiſts*, getting many townes and fortrefſes, which were very aduantageous for the Proteſtants. *Montgomerie landed in Normandie*.

Great preparation was made by the King, to withſtand theſe proceedings, and proclamation was ſent out into all parts to aſſemble the *Bannes* and *Arierbannes*, and ſuch was the diligence vſed herein, that there was quickly gathered together a ſufficient number to make two armyes, which the King preſently diuided, ſending the one into *Poitou*, vnder the conduct of *Montpencier*, againſt *La Noue*, and the other vnder the leading of *Maternon* into *Bas Normandie*, agaynſt the Count *Montgomerie*, who preuayled mightily againſt the Catholiques, ſeiſing vpon ſundry their beſt townes, and ſtrongest holds, and raunging euery where at his pleaſure. But at laſt the Count comming to *Donſon*, was ſuddenly beſieged by his enemies: where he was taken priſoner, being ſhamefully forſaken by his ſouldiers, and ſo was led away to *Paris*, and there had his head broken off, the 26. of Iune, to the great reioycing of the *Parifians*, and the exceſſing greefe of the Confederates. *Montgomerie taken & beheaded*.

*The King waxeth sicke. Maketh a peace with his subiects. Ordaineth the Queene mother Regent of France, in the absence of the King of Polonia. His death. The end of the fourth ciuill warres.*

*The King  
waxeth sickly*



*Duke Mont  
pensier re-  
turneth to the  
Court.*

*The king de-  
scribes some  
peace with  
his subiects.*

*The end of  
the fourth ci-  
uill warre.*

Hilest the Duke *Montpensier* besieged *Fontenay*, the King, who had now for a good while beene sickly, and diseased, began to waxe worse and worse, insomuch as the Queene mother fearing, that if he should die vpon the sudden, there woulde be maruellous hurly burlies at court, thought it best to sende for the Duke, whom she comanded to repaire vnto the kings presence with all speed: who thereupon brake vp his siege, licenssing his army to depart, and he himself hasted to the Court. There he found a strange Metamorphosis, for the king was now verie desirous to end the wars, and to make a peace with the Protestants, and would haue them sauoured and protected as well as his other subiects: desiring, and that verie instantly, all sorts to put to their helping hands, and to shew themselves furtherers of so laudable a worke. Commaunding likewise his Lieutenants and gouernors in all his Dominions, to cause his former Edicts to be diligently obserued, & to punish with all rigour and seueritie, who soeuer refused to obey this his commaundement. The Queene mother did likewise labour verie earnestly herein, and seemed desirous of nothing so much, as to establish a peace and quietnesse throughout all France.

*The Queene  
mother  
Regent of  
France.*

*The death of  
Charles the  
ninth, King  
of France.*

The King did still decay, and death hasted his pace to ouertake him: so that notwithstanding all the meanes that could bee imagined to escape so hote pursute: yet there was no remedie, but needes he must be arrested, and called to account for his former actions. Which when with great perplexitie of minde and sorrow of heart he perceiued, hauing ordained the Queene mother for Regent (during the absence of the King of Polonia, to whom the crowne of France as next heire did appertaine) he yeelded vp his life the 30. of May, at *Bois de Vincens*, 1574. in the 13. yeare of his reigne, and in the 24. of his age, hauing bin the most bloodie and cruell Prince, that euer did weare the French Diadem. And as hee continually thirsted after the blood of the poore Protestants, so did hee neuer cease vomiting and belching out of blood, all the time of his sicknesse, with most horrible swearing and blaspheming, vntill his last gaspe, after a most strange and fearful maner. And this was the end of *Charles of Valois*, and King of France: who beeing by nature wicked, by education irreligious, and by vngodly and wicked counsel easily drawne into all kinde of impious and barbarous actions, began with iniustice, continued with crueltie, and ended in misery, leaving that noble kingdome so torne and dismembred, the Nobilitie so diuided, and discontented, and the communitie so oppressed, and impowerished, that the whole state, hauing lost the ancient splendor and dignitie, was mightily shaken, and in a maner brought to a *Chaos*, and confusion, and halted (as it were) a maine pace to a lamentable change and alteration,



Henry the third King of France and Polonia. The Queene mother laboureth for peace, which is concluded for three moneths. The Prince of Conde goeth into Germany. Lussignen dismanteled. The King of Polonia stealeth away into France. The first Ciuill warres. The Mareſchall D'Anuill ioyneth with Protestants. Cassimer cometh to the ayde of the Protestants. The Duke of Alenſon departeth malecontent from Court. The ende of the first ciuill warres.



King Charles beeing dead, and his brother Henry king of Polonia, Henry the declared heire to the Crowne, during whose absence the the Queene mother (as is already sayde) was proclaimed Regent: the King of the Catholikes beganne to insult more then euer before ouer France and Polonia, the Protestants, and to vse them in most outragious manner, presuming vppon the accustomed good fortune of their new king, and the resolute course of the Queene mother, to roote out all those of the Religion, and to expell them out of the territories of the Flower de Lis. The consideration whereof did maruailously dismay many of the Protestants, and caused sundrie who inwardly fauoured their proceedings, to plucke in their heades and keep themselves close, and to expect what would bee the sequell of these newe occurrences. There was great dissention at Rochell about these matters, and long it was before they would fully determine what to do: howbeit, at length through the manifold remonstrances of La Noue, they fully resolved to continue the warres, both by sea and land, as they had doone in former times.

The Queene mother knowing that the best way to pacifie these tumults, and to restraine the Confederates from any further proceeding in the warres, was to vse them gently, and by smoth words and faire promises to keepe them in, vntill the comming of the new king, sent the Abbot of Gadagny to Rochell with letters to La Noue, in which (among other things) hee exhorted him to liue peaceably like a good subiect, and not to vex the land with newe troubles, in the absence of the king, who peradventure would bee reuenged thereof at his comming, although shee knew that naturally hee was a very milde and mercifull Prince, and one that would maintaine his subiects both of the one and the other Religion, in peace and amitie, so farre forth as possibly hee might, & had already signified the same as well to her selfe and the principall officers of the Crowne, as to sundry the greatest and cheefest Cities of the land. These letters with sundrie perswasions vsed by the Abbot, enduced the Rochellers to conclude a truce for three moneths.

Mention was made before of the purpose of the Duke of Alenſon and the king of Navarre to depart the Court, & to ioine with the Confederates, which albeit they attempted not, beeing diuerted there-from by the counsell of some of their friends, yet the late King had them in great ielousie, and therefore kept them (in a manner) as prisoners, setting spies to watch them and their actions: and for that hee suspected the two Mareſchalles of Memorancy and Cossy to

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to bee of their confederacie, hee imprisoned them in the Bastile within the Louvre, and discharged the Marechall Danuill brother to Memorancy of his Lieutenantship in *Languedock*, giuing it to the Prince *Dauphin*, (sonne to the Duke *Montpencier*: and albeit the Prince of *Conde*, *Mery*, *Thore*, the vicount of *Turin*, *Montagn* and many others, were secret fauourers of his excellency in this action, yet for that they were not discovered, the king suffered them to remaine at their libertie, and sent the Prince of *Conde* into *Picardy* to looke to the gouernement of that Countrey, who beeing aduertised of that which had passed at Court, touching the Duke and the King of *Nauarre*, and that there was a purpose to clap him vppelike wise, secretly conuayed himselfe into *Germany*, and forwith made profession of the Religion, and so practised with the Princes and the rest of his friendes in that Countrey, that hee leauied a great power of Reisters for the ayde of the French Protestants: which when the Marechall *Danuill* vnderstood, hee beganne to drawe neerer to those of the reformed Religion then hee was accustomed to doo, and finding many discontented polittikes readie to ioyne with him, resolved from that time forward to follow the matter with more earnestnesse, and to further their cause all that euer hee might.

The Prince  
of Conde sent  
into Picardy,  
from whence  
he secretly  
conuayed  
himselfe into  
Germany.

*Henry of Burbon* Prince of *Conde*, accompanied with many of the Nobilitie of both Regions, beeing at *Heppenheim* in *Germanie*, and seriously busied in gathering of forces to enter *France* for the releefe of his associats, was enformed of all the Proceedings, as well of the Protestants as of the Marechall *Danuill*, and the rest of the discontented polittikes, and vnderstanding that he was chosen generall ouer both sorts, accepted thereof, promising to employ all his credit, power, and authoritie to maintainethem against all their enemies, vnder the obedience of *Henry* the third of that name, King of *Poland* and of *France*. Which when the Queene mother vnderstood, shee thought it best to offer a treatie of peace, and to holde all sorts in quietnesse, vntill the comming of her Sonne out of *Polonia*, whose presence shee supposed would bee a sufficient weapon to fight against all these practises and deuises. Hereuppon she wrote letters to the Confederates, and especially to the *Rochelors*, to moouethem to embrace this negociation of peace, whereby they themselves might live in greater securitie, and the whole Lande bee freed from ciuill and intestine warres.

The Queene  
mother moueth  
a peace.

They returned a dutifull answer, desiring her maiestie to deale with the Prince of *Conde*, who was elected the cheefe of the reformed Churches, and to whome vnder the Kings obedience they hadde submitted themselves: and in the meane while furnished their Cities with all necessaries for their better safetie. With which answer the Queene mother beeing nothing well pleased, sent the Duke *Montpencier* into *Poitou* with very great forces, who hauing taken *Marais*, *Noille*, *Noue*, *Charante*, and diuers other strong places, planted his siege before *Fontenay*, a Towne of very great importance, which in the ende hee tooke by composition, and so gained all base *Poitou*, to the exceeding preiudice of the Confederates. Hee likewise besieged *Lusignan*, which beeing valiantly defended by the Lord of *Fontenay*, held out for a long time, yet yeelded at the last vppon reasonable conditions, after it had beene



beene besieged three moneths and twelue daies, hauing lost some three and twentie Gentlemen, and two hundred common souldiers: the Catholikes spent seauen or eight thousande cannon shot, and left some eight hundred of their men dead before the Towne, to make satisfaction to the inhabitants. The Towers and the Bulwarks were ouerthrowne, and the walles dismantled: and so in a short time one of the most beautifull and strongest holdes in Europe was vterly rased, and remained as a perpetuall monument of the Princes heauie indignation and displeasure.

*Lusignan dis-  
manteled.*

The king of *Polonia* being aduertised of his brothers death by letters from the Queene mother, and that he was now become heire to the Crowne of *France*, albeit he was quietly established, and a king ouer a mightie kingdome, which was euerie way both very profitable and honourable vnto him, yet (as the nature of all men is, to loue their owne naturall countrey more then another) hee presently resolued to returne home againe, and as shortly as might be, to behold the goodly and pleasant fieldes of the *Flower de Lis*: but the great loue and reuerence which the Polonians bare vnto him, (who hauing vnderstood that the disease wherewith his brother *Charles* was afflicted was incurable, and that peradventure the Crowne of *France* would quickly intyce him out of *Polonia*) made them watch ouer him with so vigilant an eye, and to obserue him so narrowly, that it caused him to doubt what course he should take to escape their hands: and being (indeede) induced by sundrie strong presumptions, to think that they would in no wise condiscend to his departure, & that it were but lost labor, yea, peradventure much harme to acquaint them with his intended voyage, determined to accomplish his purpose as closely and as seerely as he might, and to leaue them his reasons in writing, of so sodaine and hasty departure. Wherefore hauing disposed of all things which were requisite for the furtherance of this proiect, he first publicly dismissed *Bellicours* the French Embassador, sending him home as one who seeing his maister was dead, was now to be discharged of his office, and with him hee sent the choysest Gentlemen about him, and the cheefest and principall Jewels that hee had. This being done, hee made an exceeding sumptuous banquet to all the great Polonian Lords, and the Gentlemen in the Court, which being finished, and euerie man departed to his rest, the king himselfe went likewise to bed, as though he had purposed to haue slept vntill the next morrow: but he had not rested long, but rising againe & putting on disguised apparel, he passed through the watch with *Halde* one of the Gentlemen of his chamber, and mounted vpon his horse which was readie for that purpose, and posted away from *Graconia* with all the speede, and shortly arriued in *Austria* without any let, notwithstanding all the extreme pursuite made by the Count *Christophe*, the Count *Tany*, and many other Polonian Lords, and comming to *Vienna* was royally receiued of the Emperour, by whom hee was conducted to the territories of the Venerians, who likewise entertained him in most honourable and magnificent manner, and so passing by *Padoua*, *Ferrara*, and *Cremona*, entred into *Piemont*, and so into *France*, where hee was no sooner come but he found all the countrey full of troubles, tumults, and dissensions, and almost no corner free from cruell and bloudie warres.

*The king of  
Polonia stea-  
lth away into  
France.*

*The begins  
uing of the  
first ciuill  
warres.*

The

*The Maref-  
shall Dano  
willand his  
designes.*

*The Prince  
of Conde  
and the mar-  
fchal Dano  
will send their  
deputies to  
the king.*

*The King in  
confused  
warre by the  
persuasions  
of his coun-  
sell,*

The Mareſhall *Dannill* beganne to ſtirre coales in *Languedocke*, and daily to enterpriſe vpon the Catholikes, and to aduance the affaires of the Prince of *Conde* and his aſſociats, all that euer hee might. The king finding ſuch troubles in euery corner of the Land, ſeemed to bee very ſorrie, and ſought by all meanes to eſtabliſh a peace, and to that ende wrote to the Prince of *Conde* and the Mareſhall *Dannill*, who were the principall men among the Confederates, that they ſhoulde ſignifie vnto him the cauſes of their diſcontentment, and then he would (as their king and ſoueraigne) ſee them ſatiſfied ſo farre ſooth as might ſtand with equitie and iuſtice: whereupon both the Prince and the Mareſhall ſent their deputies vnto the king and Queene mother, by whome their maiesties were certified of all their grieues and doléances, and the reaſons that moued them to take Armes, which was (ſaide they) to defende their religion, their liues, and liberties, and to maintaine themſelues both againſt their owne enemies, and the ſworne aduerſaries to the Crowne of *France*, who being but ſtrangers, ruled all at their pleaſure, offering the greateſt wrong and indignitie that might bee, and that vnto the Princes of the bloud, and cloking their actions with a colourable ſhewe of Religion, ſet the whole Lande in a combuſtion intending indeede the vtter deſolation thereof, vnleſſe they were ſpeedily preuented, and ſome good courſe taken to ſtop their turbulent proceedings.

The king ſeemed to giue them a fauourable hearing, as one willing to make a pacification among his ſubiects, whom hee would haue to liue in loue and amitie one with another vnder his obedience: but by reaſon there were certaine articles propounded by the confederates, which could not on the ſodaine be agreed vpon, the peace was deferred, and the warres continued, wherupon there were newe aſſociations and leagues, and both parties ſtood reſolutely bent to annoy one another as much as might bee. Thoſe of the Religion were animated by the comfortable letters of the Prince of *Conde*, who promiſed the ſpeedie aide and aſſiſtance, & hauing recovered *Saint Iean D'Angely*, with ſundry other places of very good importance, they gathered ſome five hundred piſtoliers, and a thouſand two hundred harquebuziers, led by the valiant *La Nouë*, wherewith they ſtopped the roades of their enemies, who hadde a long while harried and waſted the Countrey without pittie or mercy.

The king as it ſeemed, was of himſelfe very inclinable to peace, and in a ſort contented that the proteſtants ſhould freely enioy their conſciences, and haue publike places allowed them for their preachings: but hee had no ſooner entertained the counſellers of the late king *Charles*, but that hee was ſoothwith caſt in a newe mould: for albeit hee were very carneſtly ſollicitated by the Embaſſadours of the Queene of *England*, the Duke of *Sauoy*, and the Switzers, to yeeld to ſome good agreement with his ſubiects, yet would he not be drawen thither with all the perſuaſions that could be vſed, but ſtill maintained the warres, and in all hoſtill manner inuaded thoſe of the reformed Religion, perſecuting them with fire and ſword, with a full purpoſe to bring them to vtter ruine and deſolation: and being aduertised of the great leauy of Reiſters which the Prince of *Conde* made in *Germany*, which amounted to the number of ſeauen thouſand and five hundred horſe, and three thouſand footmen, vnder the lea-  
ding



ding of the Duke John Cassimer, sonne to the Elector Palatine, haescit Mare-  
chall Biron into Lorraine towards the frontiers, to stoppe the passage, and  
to attend the coming of the Duke of Guise, who was mustering of men  
and gathering of forces, and that very busily for the same purpose. As the king was thus devising how hee might best withstand the Reisters,  
new troubles ensued, and a marvailous likelyhood of greater and more dan-  
gerous sturres then at any time before, if they were not wisely and speedily pre-  
vented: for the Duke of Alençon, the kings onely brother and the second per-  
son of France, sodainly departed from the Court, and went to Dintex, beeing  
highly discontented with his straight keeping, which he accounted no better  
then an imprisonment: to whom there daily repayed great numbers of the nob-  
ilitie and gentlemen, both Papists and Protestants, and there openly shewed  
himselfe a fauourer of the Confederates. The king of Navarre who had like-  
wise beene shut vp for three yeeres, having liberty on a time to go to hunt in  
the Forrest of Saint Germain in Lay, accompanied with the Duke of Effernon and  
many other Lords and gentlemen, so perswaded with them that they were not  
onely willing to suffer him to go whether hee would, but many offering their  
seruice to bring him on the way, neuer left him vntill he came to Samer, where  
he continued not long but hee grew so that strength, that he cared little or no-  
thing for his enemies. These two v unexpected accidents did marvailously as-  
tonish the Court, and made the wisest of them well neere at their wits endes:  
But the Queene mother, who earnestly desired to see some good agreement  
betweene her children, accompanied with some of the Princes of the bloud, the  
principall officers of the Crowne, and the two Marshalls of France, Mommancy  
and Cossy, who were now deliuered out of prison, went with all speede to-  
ward Alençon, and neuer left him vntill she had first made a truce for nine mo-  
neths, and afterwards hauing granted vnto him the Dukedomes of Berry, Tou-  
raine, and Anien, for his better maintenance, besides many other things done in  
fauour of the Protestants, the warres ceased, and a generall peace was pro-  
claimed thorowout the land: which the Protestants hoped would be more per-  
manent then any other of former times, for that it was granted by the king, who  
as yet had not violated his promise, and therefore they had no cause to doubt  
of him, especially considering that as one exempting himselfe from being cul-  
pable of the breach of the former pacification, he commanded that his should  
be termed by the name of his Peace, and therefore in all likelihood meant to  
haue it duly kept and obserued.

*Duke Cassi-  
mer comes  
merito to ayde  
the Protest-  
ants.*

*The Duke  
of Alençon  
sodainly de-  
parts from  
the Court, so  
the aide of  
the confedes-  
rates.*

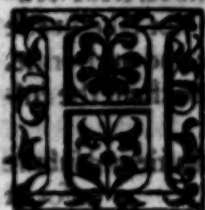
*The king of  
Navarre so  
escapes out  
of prison.*

*The Queene  
mother re-  
conciles her  
children.*

*The end of  
the first ciuill  
warres.*

CHAP. XX.

The ambition of the Guises. The house of Valois and Bourbon condemned at Rome.  
Monsieur forsakes the Protestants. The beginning of the second ciuill warres.

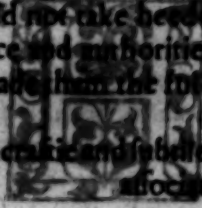


When thou maist perceiue (gentle Reader) a marvailous  
strange alteration, and as it were a continuall vicissitude in  
these French affaires. The originall and progresse, with the  
variable effect and incredible accidents, occasioned through  
the dominance of these wofull ciuill warres, are as it were in

insight, very lively represented before thy eyes. The due consideration whereof, will most needes make euerie one in whom remaineth any piety to tremble at the secret iudgements of the almightie, and to bee moued with a fellow feeling and commiseration of the wofull estate of our afflicted brethren in forraigne Countreies: to ouercome it to worke an exceeding reioysing, ioyned with most humble thanks, in the hearts of those, who enioy a quiet estate and blessed peace, vnder a most gracious and mercifull prince, with a continual invocation vnto him who is the giuer of so rich a treasure, not onely to poure downe (and that in most plentifull manner) such graces as are requisite for the beautifying and garnishing of so high a minnie, but also to assist her with such Religious, wise and peaceable Counsellors: as abhorre a couerous humour, wherewith many haue bene possessed for the enriching of themselves, and detesting an ambitious and aspiring minde (a vice oftentimes but too much inherent in the natures of great personages) as are zealously addicted to the furthering forth of Gods glorie, the seruice of his soueraigne, and the peace and prosperitie of the Commonwealth. The want whereof, as it hath euermore bene the bane of many most flourishing nations, so hath it bene the principall mooue of such lamentable deuolution as hath spread it selfe, and that in most outrageous manner, ouer the face of that noble Kingdome of France: where, albeith in some of the latter Kings haue not bene so veriously disposed as were to bee wished, which notwithstanding may peraduenture in some sort bee excused in regarde of their minority and want of good education: by meanes whereof they haue the more easily bene endured to giue their allowance to many most wicked and vngodly proceedings: yet is it out of question that the greatest miseries which haue there fallen out, haue bene hatched and brought forth by the deuillish and pestiferous practises of sundrie Counsellors, who through the benefit of their good fortune and fauour of their Princes, haue attained vnto great places, and had the managing of the whole state. Among others the house of Guise (as it is notoriously knowne vnto the whole world) haue faulted therein, in the highest degree that may bee, who abusing those notable gifts which had made them commendable in the sight of their soueraignes, and highly esteemed of the people, and therefore ought to haue drawen on an honourable entyage of themselves towardes all sorts, but in more especiall towardes that house which had so honoured them aboue all families in France, haue rendered euill for good, and sought by all vnlawfull and trecherous meanes to subuert those who haue bene but too ready to procure theyr honour and aduancement. Which intollerable ingratitude of theirs, though it were prophesied on long before, by the great King Francis the first of that name saying: That they would put their children into theyr dublets, and his subiects into their shirts: yet such was the carelesse secution of the offspring of that proud Prince, that they would not take heed to such warning heades, but by giuing them countenance and authoritie, haue mightily weakened their owne Royall dignitie, and made them the fillers of his sharpe and bitter prophesie. Thus the Duke of Guise, assisted by the counsellors of that craftie and subtle

The great  
ingratitude  
of the house  
of Guise.

The prophesie  
of King  
Francis.





associate *Charles* his brother, Cardinall of *Lorraine*, had long synclayde the plot, and cast in his minde how to effect this diabolicall deuce, and to that ende had set all *France* in a combustion by sowing division betweene the King and the Princes of the blood, and incensing the soueraigne agaynst his most obedient and dutifull subiectes. And being growne verie gracious among the French, by reason of his fortunate successe in the warres, caused it to bee secretly spredde abroad among the people, that hee was descended from *Charlesmaine*, and therefore had some right and title to the Crowne of *France*. And as though hee meant one day to put in his clayme, had so ordered the matter, that great numbers of the Nobilitie, and sundrie of the principall Citties of the lande, were wholie at his deuotion: but hee was cutte off in the midst of his hope (as is already sayde) before *Orleanne*, and all his deuices came to naught, sauing that he left behind him a sonne, as hautie, as aspiring, and as ambitious as euer was the father, and one that attempted greater matters then euer did any of that line.

*Francis D  
of Guise as  
pires to the  
Crown of  
France.*

*Henrie duke  
of Guise his  
ambitious &  
turbulent  
nature.*

This man beeing growne into great credite with *Charles* the ninth, and likewise with *Henrie* the thirde, so aduanced himselfe by their fauours, that he gaue the lawe to *France*, and did euery thing as he lysted. And practising those rules which his father and vncle had left him, was euermore deuising how to trouble the state, and to holde the King at continuall strife with his subiects, as the readiest and speediest way to compasse that, which that factious and turbulent house had so greedily gaped after for these many yeares. VVhereupon hee pondering with himselfe, that if this late reconciliation which was made betweene the King and his subiects, shoulde continue, that the King of *Nauarre*, and the Prince of *Conde*, with their adherents and associates, would quickly growe mightie, and so with theire power and authoritie, easily ouerthrowe all his councelles, and that in such sort, as hee should neuer bee able to accomplish and fulfill his intended purpose, thought it best and most expedient for his aduantages, to beginne newe broyles and sturres, and with a sixt ciuill warre to bring *France* againe into a *Chaos* and confusion.

1576

The better to effect this, and to lay as sure a foundation as might bee for so badde a buylding, it was deuised, that the Bishop of *Paris*, and a certaine Aduocate called *David*, as craftie, as wilie, and as wicked a fellowe as any liued in those dayes, shoulde bee sent to *Rome*, to haue the direction of the Pope, and his Cardinalls, howe it were best to beginne, and afterwards most circumspectlie to proceede and go forwardes in so hautie and weightie an enterprife.

*The Bishop  
of Paris &  
the aduocate  
David sent  
to Rome.*

There were many bitter complaints, and sharpe accusations framed agaynst *Henrie* the third the French King, against *Monsieur* his brother, the king of *Nauarre*, the Prince of *Conde*, against the race of the *Valoises*, the *Burbons*, all the princes of the blood, and the auncient Nobilitie of *France*: they were all either heretikes, or fauourers of heretikes, and by their late pacification, entended the viter subuersion of the holie Church of *Rome*. There it was shewed, to make the King and all his Princes the more odious, howe the house of *Capes*, had alwayes withstoode the Bishoppes of *Rome*, and had in olde time maintained

*Accusations  
against the  
houses of  
Valois and  
Burbon.*

the *Valdens* and *Albigens*, and now were either *Hugonots*, or else great fauourers and abettors of them. But on the contrarie, that the house and lynage of *Charlemaine*, (which was wrongfully dispossessed of the Crowne) had a speciall grace giuen them by the Papall benediction, to support and helpe holie Church, and that yet there were some of that offspring left, and those stoute maintainers of the Papall dignitie (meaning those of *Guise*) and such as had alwayes like notable Champions valiantlie defended the Romaine faith: and therefore it was expedient, nay most necessarie for the preservation of the Catholike Religion, to roote out the houses of *Valois*, and *Burbon*, and to restore the offspring of *Charlemaine*, which was endewed with all excellent vertues, and throughly furnished with most notable gifts, requisite for the execution of all commendable, and honourable attempts.

The Council  
holden at  
Rome for the  
rooting out  
of the blood  
Royal of  
France,

And for the more speedie accomplishment hereof, it was resolved, that the *Guises* with their partakers should procure newe commotions in the lande, and nourish the warres by all possible meanes that might bee. That they should league the Nobilitie by oath to persecute the Gospel, and to choose for their heade and principall of their league, *Henric* Duke of *Guise*, whom the King shoulde see counsayled to let alone, and suffer him to proceede as he liked best, seeing he was a man of that iudgement, that knewe well enough what hee had to doo. The Queene mother likewise shoulde be sent to perswade *Monsieur* her sonneto be at the assembly of the States, which shoulde bee holden at *Blois*. Whither the king shoulde sollicite the king of *Nauarre*, and Prince of *Conde* to come, by all the faire wordes that could be deuised. And in the meane while there shoulde be sundrie cunning fellowes, and such as were most deuoted to the league, sent abroad into the seuerall provinces, who shoulde secretly labour, that such Deputies might be chosen, as would further the designements of the Leaguers all that might be. During which priuie practises, the Friars and Iesuites shall incense the people agaynst the *Hugonots*, by their seditious Sermons. The priests in their parish churches shal secretly take the names of all the able men for the warres, and in their shrivings, shall charge them to provide them of all such weapons as shalbe appoynted them by their captaines. The States shal sweare to obserue and obey whatsoeuer shalbe concluded. And if *Monsieur*, the king of *Nauarre*, the prince of *Conde*, and the rest of the princes of the blood, do not appeare at the said assembly, they shall be condemned as rebels, and likewise all other that shal any way oppose themselves against the proceedings of the said States, who shal sweare their obedienceto the *Sea of Rome*, and to obserue the Councell of *Trent*; and withall a request shall be made to the king, that if any man shall resist and refuse to giue his allowance thereto, that he shall appoynt the Duke of *Guise* his generall, and giue him authoritierto pursue him to the death: who hauing so great forces, shall cause them to be in a readinesse to march towarde *Blois*, as soone as the assembly of the states is begun. All things being thus contriued, there shall be certaine commissioners chosen, to enquier of the life and deedes of *Monsieur*, and certaine iudges appoynted to condemne him, for ioyning himselfe with the Heretikes, and so his proccesse shal be drawne forth with after the godly example of the king of *Spain*, who put to death *Charles* of *Austria* his naturall sonne.

As soone



As soone as *Monsieur* is condemned, then shall the forces march to strengthen the execution, and shall set vpon all the *Hugonots*, and put as many of them to the sword as they can come by: and the Duke of *Guise* being so strongly appointed, shall seize vpon the persons of the King and Queene mother, and by the permission of the lea Apostolike shall put them into some monasterie, as *Peppin* dealt with *Childeie*. And by this meanes the Crowne shall bee set vpon his head, and so returne to the blessed stock of *Charlemaine*, and he and his successors from thenceforth shall haue their kingdome of the Bishop of *Rome*, and shall abolish the prerogatiues of the French Church.

Whilest these things were a working at *Rome*, the *Guises* with their adherents sought by all possible meanes to breake the peace in *France*, and by grievous oppressions and wrongs, to force those of the reformed religion, to put themselves in arms to withstand so iniurious proceedings. And albeit they were but too forward to blow the bellows of sedition before: yet now vpon the returne of *Dauid* from *Rome*, they went eagerly forward, and with great earnestnesse endeavored to put those rules in practise, which came from their holy father. There were leagues and associations made, and those as strong as could be deuised. The states were summoned, and by the collusion of the King, none admitted to be at that assembly, but such as were viter enemies to the Gospel. *Monsieur*, by the earnest intreatie of the Queene mother, was brought to the Court, and hauing made his benefite of the fauor of the Protestants, left them when they had most need of him, and associated himselfe with their sworne enemies.

The King likewise beganne to interpret his Edict after a straunge maner, and farre otherwiser then was expected by the confederates. Some articles were strained, and racked out to the vitermost, and other some snipped and curtailed, that they seemed metamorphosed, and changed into a new nature, as farre differing from their former, as might be imagined. Many infamous libels were printed, contayning most villainous matter agaynst the Protestants: and a rumour was spread abroade, that they had surprised sundrie Townes and fortresses in *Poitou*, *Languedocke*, *Cuyen*, *Xantoigne*, and *Dauphine*, and therefore that it was impossible to holde in the Catholiques any longer, who with so manifold iniuries (saide they) were mightily incensed agaynst those of the reformed Churches.

Those of the Religion were exceedingly troubled with this strange kind of dealing, and knowing that it proceeded of a mortall hatred, and that it did evidently argue, that there was a secrete purpose to catch them at aduantage, and then to make hauocke of them, and to roote them and their Religion out of *France*, they beganne to looke about them, and to prouide for their owne securitie, especiallie considering howe the Catholiques were leagued together, and were readie (as it were at an instaunt) to inuade them on all sides.

VVhereupon seeing that *Monsieur* after hee had gotten the Dukedome of *Berrie*, *Touraine*, and *Anjou*, (as is already sayd) had forsaken them, and left them at sixe and seuen, the King of *Nauarre* was chosen chiefe of the Confederates, and the Prince of *Conde* seysed vpon *Bourgoie*, *Maremmes*, and other Islandes, being places of great importaunce, and verie auailable for the aduancement of the Protestant affaires. Thus the peace hauing

1577

*Monsieur*  
forakes the  
Protestants,  
and goeth to  
the Court.

The com-  
plaints of the  
Catholikes.

1578

The begin-  
ning of the  
first civil  
warre.

endured but a small time, the sixth ciuill war ensued immediately, vpon the report that it was concluded by King in the assembly of the states, that there should be no other, but the Romane Catholike religion, tollerated within all his territories and dominions: for then began the warres to be open on all sides. The Catholikes seysed vpon *Du Pont*, *S: Esprit*, *Merpin*, *Tallemand*, *En deaux*, and as manie other townes as they could get. The Protestants surprised *Pons*, *Royan*, *Reole*, and *Cinray*, and making a counterleague among themselves, couragiously withstood the attempts of their enemies: and foreseeing the stormie tempest, which threatned the ship of their safetie, like wise Pilots, and skillfull Mariners, they stoutly stood to their tacklings, endeavouring by all possible meanes to saue their beate[n] barke from drowning, and to bring it to some safe port, and quiet harborow:

Each side alledged fundrie reasons for the iustification of their actions: the Catholikes layd all the blame vpon the Protestants: saying, that they were men that would not be satisfied with any indifferent fauor: but cpying their advantage, had forced the King to yeeld to vnreasonable conditions: Besides, that the Edict was but prouisionall, and might be disannulled at the Kings pleasure: and that it was now determined by the Estates generall, that no other then the Roman religion should be tollerated within all the French Dominions. The Protestants alledged, that they were murdered and killed in euerie corner, and no punishment inflicted vpon the malefactors. That the Catholikes did dayly breake the Kings Edict, which had beene made by the consent of all the noble personages of the land, who had solemnely sworne the obseruation thereof: and that if such Edicts were accounted prouisionall, who would repose any trust hereafter in the Kings worde and promise, seeing he helde it lawfull to breake his oath when hee lysted. And as concerning the estates generall, they sayd, they were not lawfully assembled, and therefore they protested of the nullitie of them, and of whatsoever thing they concluded. These and manie such reasons were objected on both sides: and they had not long contended in wordes, but they fell to blowes, and each endamaged other all that euer they might.

*The complaints of the Protestants.*

*The duke de Maine generall of the Catholikes.*

The King of *Nauarre*, and Prince of *Conde*, withdrew themselves to *Rochell*, and hauing gotten some 3000. footmen, and 400. horse, they dayly enterprised vpon their enemies. The D. de *Maine*, accompanied with *Puygalliard*, *Ruffec*, *Roche*, *Baritand*, and many others, to the number of seuen hundred horse, besides a strong power of footmen, did continuallie vex and molest the Protestants, by spoyling their fieldes, and burning their houses: and beeing masters of the *Champaigne*, couped in the Confederates verie narrowly, and hauing all things in a readinesse, planted their siege before *La Charitie*, which in the ende they gayned. Yea *Rochell* it selfe began in a maner to bee besieged, enduring mannylous losses by the continuall roades of the Catholikes, who wasted all without pittie or mercie.

*La Charite. The prosperious course of the Duke de Maine.*

The Protestants being so hardly used, offered the like measure, wherethey preuayled, dealing verie rigourously with such as fell into their handes. The Duke de *Maine* following his good fortune, tooke *Tonnay Charentie*, and *Rochford*, which yeelded vnto him vpon the first summonce: and so farre hee preuayled,



wayled that he made himselfe Lorde of all the Riuer of *Charente*, in lesse then five dayes : and vsing great expedition, got *Marans* from the Rochellors, who were sore griued with the losse of a place of so great importance.

Now, as the nature of most men is, to bande with the stronger, and euer more to iudge of the end, according to the beginning : so many at this time began to slippe their neckes out of the Coller, and to runne to the Catholikes, supposing that it was impossible for the Confederates to holde out for anie long time. For besides that they were ouermatched by lande, they were likewise hardly handled at sea, and had much adoo to keepe the Isle of *Re*, and *Chefede Bay*, from *Lansac*, who was Admirall ouer the nauie Catholique. But at last *Lansac* <sup>beat</sup> *ten at sea by* they rigging forth certaine shippes, commaunded by *Cleremont* of *Ambeis*, <sup>the Protestants.</sup> so scoured the coast, that noemie for the time durst appeare in sight of their warrelike Fleete, wherewith they were maruellously well recomforted. But their ioy lasted not long : for the Duke de *Maine* approaching *Bronage*, so furiously assailed it, that *Manducay*, who was gouernour of the Towne, was forced to yeelde vpon composition, being destitute of all necessities requisite, to withstand so great a puyssaunce. By this time also, *Lansac* hauing repayed <sup>The Protestants beaten</sup> his beaten Fleete, put forth to sea afresh, and meeting with the Confederates <sup>at sea by</sup> valiantly set vpon them, and putting them to the woorse, burnt their Admirall called the *Prince*, and tooke an other vessell called the *Floressante*, to the exceeding greefe of the Protestants, who had reposed no small confidence in their sea forces.

Besides all these infortunate chaunces, there fell out an other crosse, which did verie much griue and disquiet the Rochellors, and that was the death of <sup>The death of</sup> their Maior *Robineau* : who for that he was accounted a wise, valiant, and polite <sup>Robineau.</sup> man, one who of all others did wonderfully affect the good of his country, and rendered the welfare of all in general, was maruellously lamented of all sortes, and especially of the Rochellors, who in a sort were amazed with his death, and as men astonished with so manie crosses, had fainted vnder their burthen, had they not beene recomforted with a sudden report of a newe pacification, which was earnestly solicited by the Duke *Montpencier*. Wherto the king was the more inclinable, both for that there was a mightie power of *Germaines* readie to enter *France*, and also for that he wanted money to maintaine so great charges. Whereupon the Queene mother was employed to make the composition with the king of *Nauarre*, & the rest of the Protestants: which after much <sup>The end of</sup> running vp and downe, was agreed vpon by both parties, and proclaimed with <sup>the sixt ciuill</sup> great ioy and triumph, both at *Rochell* and other places, in token of the earnest desire they had to liue at ease, and to spend the remnant of their dayes in rest and quietnesse.

## CHAP. XXI.

*The death of Monsieur. The seditions and treacherous practises of the Guisards. The beginning of the seventh ciuill warre, called the leaguers warre. The Prince of Conde goeth toward Angiers. His great distresse and admirable deliuerie.*

1582



He *Guisers* and the rest of the confederates, perceiuing howe the King, with great numbers of his nobles, and cōmon subiects began to take some delight in peace, and that there was an intention to reforme many abuses, which were crept into the state in the time of the ciuill warres: to restore the nobilitie to their auncient dignitie, and to vnburthen the people of sundry charges, wherwith for a long while they had bin grievously oppressed, were inwardly vexed at the hart, to consider that their former counsels tooke no better effect, and therfore they fel in hand with new practises, and those more pernicious, pestilent, and more dangerous then any others that euer they attempted before. For they considering that the cōdemnation & execution of *Monsieur* the kings brother could not so easily be brought to passe as they desired, and that the king of *Navarre*, and prince of *Conde*, did so prudently provide for their own security, that it was a very hard thing to entrap the, & bring their persons within danger, thought it best to go secretly to work, and by some priuy means to work their ruine & ouerthrow, against whom they could not preuail by open force and violence. They therfore hired *Salcedo*, a Spaniard to kill *Monsieur*, and promised him 6000. crowns for his labor: but he failing of his purpose, they procured a certain Gentlewoman, with whom his excellencie was but too familiarly acquainted, to giue him such a receipt, as neuer left working, till it had wrought the life out of his body: so that he died the 10. of Iuly, 1582. to the great reioicing of the *Guisers*, who now began to triumph to see so fortunat successe and happy aduancement of their affaires. And considering that by the death of this great prince, whō they feared more then the King, their side was maruellously strengthened, they began to stir coles afresh, and sought by all meanes to fill the land full of new broiles and hurli-burlies. And the time fast approaching, which was appointed for the bringing forth of that monster, wherewith they had traualled for a long time, they had many secret conferences with the duke of *Parma*, *Bernardine Mendoza* the Spanish ambassador, and *Gionan Bardach no*, the King of Spaine his Corriero. There was the bargain made to sell *Marseilles*, *Bordeaux*, and the Dukedome of *Britaine*, to the King of Spaine their maister, & an appointed time made, that the Duke of *Sauoy* should inuade the Marquisate of *Saluces*, thereby to occupie the King, and to disperse his forces into diuerse and sundrie places. And beeing strongly supported by the fautors of many of the Nobilitie, and sundry of the chiefe Cities, they first required that the Edi& of pacification should be reuoked, that the King of *Navarre*, & prince of *Conde*, with all those who made profession of the gospel, shuld be exiled the realm, or else forced to abiure their religion, & that continual war should be denouced against the protestants.

The King was aduertised of all these treacherous practises, as well from

*Salcedo a Spaniard hired to kill Monsieur.*

*Monsieur thought to be poisoned. His death.*

*The conspiracie of the Guise, and the rest of the leaders.*



from sundrie the Princes of *Germany*, as also from the King of *Nauarre*: but hee would not beleue any thing, but tooke them to be but slanderous reports, raised vp by the Hugonots, and therefore lightly regarded them: but still countenanced the Guyfes and their adherents, who hauing gotten the King to ioyne with them, & to yeeld to their requests, they hired the Monks and Friers to stir vp the people to their seditious ceremonies, shriings and priuate conferences, to bande with them and the rest of the Leagues, and to persecute those of the Religion with fire and sword, and to roote them and theirs out of the territories of *France*.

*The seditious practices of the Guyfes*

They caused sundrie infamous Libels to be spread abroad, and gaue out that the king of *Nauarre* and the Protestant Princes had sworn to roote out the Catholike faith, and to deprive them of the Romish Church of all honour, dignitie and authoritie: that the murder at *Paris* should be reuenged, and that three of the principall Burgeses of euerie Citie and towne, should be put to death in reuenge of the saide murder. These with many other notorious vntruths were openly declared in their pulpets wherewith the common sort were mightily enraged against the Protestants, and desired nothing more then their vtter subuersion and ouerthrow. The Guyfes hauing likewise obtained good store of Spanish pistolets, corrupted diuers great personages, and had hired sundrie Captaines to take their parts. Hauing laide this foundation, and provided all necessities that could be deuised for the rest of their building, about the fourth of March, 1585. they brake forth and shewed themselves openly, seising vpon sundrie the kings Townes, Cities, and fortresses, supposing (indeede) that the rest would ioyne with them and take their parts: but things falling out contrarie to their expectation, they were forced to plucke in their heads for a while, and to attend some better opportunitie: and that so much the rather for that the King the better sort of the Nobilitie, and the courts of Parliament, opposed themselves against their proceedings, declaring them Rebelles, and willing all the gouernours of Townes and prouinces to apprehende them, and to see them punished as seditious persons, and perturbbers of the State.

*The beginning of the seauenth ciuill warres, called the Leagues. 1585.*

This audacious action seemed very odious in the eyes of many: which the Guyfes perceiuing, they drew in the Cardinall of *Burbon* by sundrie fine deuises, to ioyne with them, whose credit and countenance serued their turnes in many great attempts. And because sundrie of the Kings Councillers were either the Guyfes creatures, or by some one way or other deuoted vnto them, the king was neuer duly enformed of the danger of the League: for they told him that it was nothing but an inconsiderate zeale of some few, who fearing the innovation of Religion, were growne somewhat passionate, and sought for nothing indeed but to maintain the people in their obedience to the holy church, who if hee should but once frowne vppon them, they would all come and fall downe at his maiesties feete, and vowe their goods, their liues, and whatloeuver meanes they had to doo his maiestie service, and therefore hee neede not feare them who were so good and deuout Catholikes, but rather had cause to animate them in their Religious proceedings, considering that they opposed themselves against none but such as were rearmed Hugonots, the kings sworn enemies, and such as had bene the occasion of all those miseries which had continued

*The king betrayed by his Councill.*

continued in *France* for so many yeeres.

The King was brought into such a securitie of his estate by this wicked Councell, that he did not onely reiect such aduertisements as were sent to him from time to time, both from the King of *Nauarre*, Duke *Cassimer*, and other Princes, touching the monstrous conspiracy of the Leaguers: but also as one that knew not what hee did, hee made great preparation against them of the reformed Religion, and suffered the Leaguers in the meane time to grow and fortifie themselves at their owne pleasures, vntill they were become so mighty, that they thought themselves able inough, if neede were, to go through with theyr intended course, whosoever shoulde say nay. Which was no sooner effected, but that they sette the Kings Councillers on the sodaine to ensourme the king of the great power and puissance of the Leaguers: howe that quite besides their expectations there was an vniuersall consent of all his good subiects, to restore the Catholike Religion, that great numbers of his Nobilitie and cheefest Citties highly commended the zeale of the Leaguers, and were resolu'd in theyr defence: and therefore that it were good for the king, considering the time, not to make any resemblance to call any of them to account for any of theyr actions, least he should giue some suspition that hee was a fauorer of the heretikes, which might breed a grudging in the hearts of his people, wherby some commotions might rise to the imminent perill of his royall person, and the extreme danger of the whole state.

*The King  
maketh  
peace with  
the Leaguers.*

*The Leaguers require  
to be made  
gouernours of  
the principall  
holds in  
France.*

The king beeing maruailously amazed with these and such like remonstrations, thought it best to make peace with them, and to countenance them as his best subiects. They were glad that they had brought him to that passe: and now seeing they had found him so submisse, they meant to make further tryall of his courtesie, and therevppon they required that all their former actions might be ratified by the kings authoritie, as good and lawfull, and done for his seruice, and that whatsoever had passed in preiudice of the Leaguers, should be reuoked as wrongfull and vniust, and for that they sawe the king was willing to gratifie their smal requests, they were bold to proceed further, & to intreat him, that the Duke of *Guyse*, the Duke de *Maine*, the Duke of *Anmaile*, the Cardinall of *Guyse*, the Lord *Brissac*, the Lord *Antragues*, the Lord *Chastre*, and the rest of the principall Leaguers might haue the gouernement of sundrie the strongest places of the land, as of the Cittadell of *Metz*, the Castle of *Dien*, *Rhemes*, the strongest holds of *Picardy*, *Orleans*, *Caen*, *Aniou*, *Bourges*, *Lyons*, and many others of like importance. They further perswaded with him to proclaime open warres against the Protestants, & to declare the king of *Nauarre*, the Prince of *Conde*, and all others who had beene infected with heresie (as they termed it) to be for ever vncapable of any office in *France*, and that they should packe out of the Countrey with all speede: and for the better countenancing of all theyr proceedings against these great States, they procured Pope *Sixtus* to excommunicate them, thereby to make them more odious with the people.

As soone as they had gotten in a manner whatsoever they desired, and had made themselves as good maisters as the King, they with sundrie and most cunning deuises gayned great multitudes to ioyne with them, and euerie man eyther for feare or for loue, was soorthwith at their will and command.



commande. They mustered great forces, and gathered mightie armies, to invade the king of *Nauarre* and the rest of the Protestants, who seeing themselves abandoned of their king, and exposed to the furie of their mercilesse enemies, stood vpon the defenline, and resisted the rage of the League as well as they could.

The Prince of *Conde* growing strong, determined to besiege *Bronage*, which was kept by the Lord *Saint Luc* for the Leaguers: where, after hee had spent some time in gayning many of the principall forts, he departed towards *Angiers*, leauing al his footmen to continue the siege: and albeit the Prince vsed great expedition, labouring with all speede to releene those who had taken the Castle of *Angiers*, yet could hee not come time inough, for by reason that Capitaine *Rochmont*, who had surprised the saide Castle, was slaine with a shot out of the Towne as hee was leaning in his Chamber wiindow, the Castle was rendered again vpon composition, & made sure for the League, as it was afore time. The Prince beeing ignorant hereof, passed the Loyre with all his troups, which were some eight hundred horse, and almost a thousand and two hundred harquebuziers on horsebacke, conducted by the Lord of *Nemours*, *Lauall*, *Trimouille*, *Boulay*, *Saint Gelais*, *Aubigny*, *Ouches*, *Roban*, *Touche*, *Fleische*, and sundrie others. The Lord *Clermont* had likewise gathered a great companie of horse, and encamped himselfe with the Prince neere vnto *Angiers*. These companies approaching the Towne, expected some signall from the Castle, whereby they might vnderstand that it still held for the king of *Nauarre*: but they were certified that the saide Castle was yeilded the day before into the handes of their enemies, and therefore that it was lost labour to stay there any longer. Which newes greued the Prince exceedingly, & made him with the rest of his counsell, to fall to consultation, how they might safely get backe ouer the Loyre, and free themselves out of that danger which then appeared before their eyes: and for that they knewe well inough that both the kings forces and the Leaguers were vp in all quarters, and hastid by all possible meanes to encounter them, they retyred towards the Loyre with a purpose to returne the same way they came. The Lord *Lauell* beeing the formost, got ouer without any danger: but before the comming of the Prince, all the passages were seised by the enemye, and the prince was aduertised by many messengers, that either hee must resolue to open his way by the sword, or else to hazard himselfe at al aduenture through the Countrey of *Beauise*.

The Prince approaching the danger, and thinking that in either of these there was but hard choyse, called a Councell: but by reason of the diuersitie of opinions it was long before any thing could be concluded: at length it was agreed to passe through *Beauise*. Then euery man prepared himselfe towards that desperate iourney, and marching toward *Luche* in *Anjou*, purposed there to passe ouer the Loyre vpon the Bridge: but the River was so risen, that there was no passage without imminent perill. From thence therefore they went to *Lude*, and so to *Prillay*, *Andeloyre*, & *S. Arnol*, where they heard newes that the Duke of *Espernon* and the Marechall *Biron* were at *Bonenall* in *Beauise*, with great forces, readie to fight with the dismayed multitude: that the Duke *De Mayne* was on the other side of the Loyre neere vnto *Bloy*, readie to cut off such as should

The Prince  
of Conde be-  
siegeth Bron-  
age,

The Prince  
goeth to-  
wards An-  
giers,

The great  
distresse of  
the Prince  
and the rest  
of the Protes-  
tants that  
were with  
him,

fortune

fortune to passe that way, and that all the Countrey was full of strong garrisons attending with great deuotion to make a pray of the Prince, and that handfull of men which did accompanie him, so that it seemed the further they went the neerer they approached their destruction: and hauing with their long and laborious marches wearied themselves and tired their horses, they did viterly dispaire of any good successe. In this great agony they journeyed on, and euerie day receiued more vncomfortable newes then other, wherewith many supposing that all was lost, secretly disbanded from the grosse of the Armie, and repaired to such friendes as they had in the Countrey.

The Prince and the rest of the Nobilitie were wonderfully perplexed, and knew not what course to take: at length they resolved to diuide themselves into seuerall companies, some going one way and some another: the Lord Rohan with many Gentlemen in his retinew, went towards Britaine, Saint Gelais went towards Vandosme, the Prince, the Lords of Trimouille and Auantigny with some of their principall seruants, betooke them to their fortune as well as the rest, and hastened to get into some place of greater securitie. The laborious and tedious trauaile of this noble Prince, his wearisome courses, his long Causalcados, his great and perillous dangers hee escaped before he gat to that Island of Gernsy, would require along discourse, & were sufficient for a whole volume. As soone as the cheefestaines were thus dispersed, the common souldiers were quickly scattered, some tooke their way towards Orleance, some towards Normandy, and some towards Mayne, and to bee short, euerie man went which way hee liked best, trauieling in exceeding great feare, hauing as they imagined, neither meanes to escape nor force to resist, but were readie euerie minute to fall into the hands of those who did wholly pursue them, and thirsted for nothing more then for their blood: but when all hope failed, God did miraculously deliuer them, and so deliuered them in their journeyes, that hauing annoyed a million of more then apparent perils, they all arrived at length at Rochell, and that much about one time, to the exceeding comfort of themselves, and the wonder of all France.

The Prince  
of Conde  
with the  
cheefest of  
his troupes  
arrived at  
Rochell  
much about  
one time.

## CHAP. XXII.

The cruell Edicts of the King against the Protestants. The number of the Popish Armies which were overthrowne in one yeere. The villanous dealing of the Guyle. The battaile of Coutras.

The Duke  
de Maine  
made cap-  
taine gene-  
rall over the  
forces of the  
Popish Clerg  
27.



Wilst the Prince of Conde and the rest of his distressed Armie, made this hard shift for themselves, the Duke de Maine, whome the League had procured to be appointed generall by the Kings authoritie ouer a mightie power, maintained at the cost and charges of the Clergie of France, bestirreth himselfe, and seeketh to annoy the protestants as much as might bee: but by reason the Vicount of Turin opposed himselfe against his proceedings with an army of sixe thousand men, hee did no other harme but gat some fewe Townes which were of no great importance

The



The League not prospering so fast as they desired, by force of Armes, caused the king who was nowe solde ouer to worke his owne confusion and the vtter ruine of his Realme and States, to make many cruell Edicts against those of the Religion: notwithstanding all the pacifications and graunts of former times, and they were commanded to auoyde the Realme within fiftene dayes, otherwise there was libertie giuen to persecute them to death, to seise vpon their goods, lands and linings, and to employ them to the kings vse.

The king of *Navarre* knowing that all this was doone by the procurement of the League and the Popish Clergie, seised likewise vpon all the Landes, and goods of such as were either Leaguers or fauourers of that faction, and rebellious multitude. The seuer proclamations made by the king against those of the Reformed Churches, wrought many lamentable effects in the Land. Some who made profession of the Gospel recanted, and turned to Poperie, and because they would not bee suspected on any dissimulation, they became earnest persecutors of their poore brethren. Others hid themselves in secret corners and liued most miserably and in great wants. Infinite numbers fled away, some into *England*, some into *Germanie*, others to *Sedan*, *Geneua*, and such places as were free from persecution. It was a most pittifull sight to beholde the dissipation of so many families, who were now turned forth of the doores naked and comfortlesse, and forced to shift for themselves in strange Countreyes.

The Duke de *Maine* did all this while what hee could to any the Protestants, and to gayne as many Citties and townes (through very secrecie) as hee could to ioyne with the League, and to make that faction strong against the King, by seducing his subiects vnder the colour of maintaining the Catholike Religion. Which beeing suspected by sundrie his followers, they disbanded themselves, and some for want of pay refused to serue any longer.

The Duke de *Maine* by reason of these vnexpected crosses, was not able to make head any longer, and therefore wrote to the *Guyse* his brother in what bad termes things stood, who fearing that if there were not new prouision, that his brother the Duke de *Maine*, would come shortly to ruine. and bee vtterly ouerthrowne, aduised the king to make foure seuerall Armies, and to inuade the protestants in diuerse places at once, which (sayde hee) was the onely way to weaken them, considering that their forces should bee seuered and disioyned.

This pollicie was no sooner allowed as the best, but the Mareschall *Biron* was appointed to go into *Kainchoigne*, the Duke *Jouy* into *Languedocke*, the Lord *Foyse* his sonne into *Auergne*, and the Duke of *Espernon* into *Provence*. *La Chapelle* should bee readie with a fleet vpon the coast of *Britaine*, to enterprise as time and opportunitie serued.

The king of *Navarre* was forthwith certified of this preparation, which made him fortifie such places as were of importance as strongly as hee could, and vnderstanding that the Mareschall *Biron* intended to besiege *Bronay*, with a power of one thousand & two hundred horse & foure thousand footmen, he did so carefully prouide for the defence thereof, that after that *Biron* had bin long before

the cruell  
Edicts of the  
king.

The miserab  
blee state of  
the persecut  
ed Prote-  
stants.

Foure new  
armies ap  
pointed to  
inuaide the  
Protestants.

The armies  
of the Popish  
Leaguers  
were browne  
in lesse then  
one yeere.

before the towne, and had done little or nothing, sauing that he was content to make a composition with the Protestants, hee brake vp his campe, and sent his companies, some into *Poitou*, and some into *Aniou* to refresh themselves, and thus was this Army disperfed without dooing of any thing. Duke *Joyeuse* passed into *Languedocke*, where hee tooke *Lodere*, *Saint Pour*, *Marsesquion*, and *Martels*, and hauing committed infinite sorts of most horrible villanies and strange cruelties, after he had lost aboute thirtie of his best Captaines, and five hundred others at the least, before a palterie towne called *Saint Pauls*, brake vp his army, and returnedd home in farre worse case then hee went sooth. The sauege rudenes of this rable made many of the Nobilitie, who before fauored the League, to forsake such an association, wherein there was nothing but robbing, spoyling, whooring, swearing, and blaspheming, and that after a most beastly and brutish manner: the yong *Joyeuse* following rather his pleasures then the wars, made his progresse throughout *Auvergne*, where hee did no other harme but spende and waste the Kings treasure: and when that was doone, retired to the Court to see if he could be trusted with any more. And thus were all these armies brought to confusion, vanishing away as a little smoke, notwithstanding all their great brags.

The Queen  
mother offereth  
a parley  
of peace.

The Leaguers considering that all these five Armies had spent great store of treasure, and all other warlike preparation, and yet had rather hindred then furthered their secret purposes (for by reason they sped no better they were forsaken of many, & growen into contempt with others) deuised with the Queene mother, whom they knew to fauour their designements, that shee should offer a parley of peace: which shee did, and sent to vnderstand of the king of *Nauarre*, if hee would hearken thereto, who tendering the good of his countrey refused not the motion: wherupon there was an interuiew betweene the Queene mother and the saide King at *Saint Brice*, the thirteenth of December, where there was much ado, and many words spent to small purpose: for the Queene would not condescend to the excuse of the Religion, and the king of *Nauarre* would make no peace; seeing that was the principall cause of bearing armes: howbeit, in the end the Queene vnderstanding of the great leauie of Reisters that were comming to the ayde of the Protestants, and growing in suspicion that the Dukes of *Guise* and *de Maine*, and the rest of the Leaguers would enterprise somewhat against the King, shee concluded a peace for three moneths, and so returned to the Court.

1587  
The Guises  
trecherous  
dealing to  
discredit the  
King.

The Duke of *Guise* intending to discredit the king with his subiects euerie day more then other, sent abroad sundrie his supposts, and caused them to spread a rumor, how that the euill successe of all those armies which had beene employed against the Hugonots, was for that the king beeing led by wicked counsell, would not permit that they should be sufficiently provided for with money, munition and other necessaries, that hee had intelligence with the heretikes, that hee had warre (indeed) in his mouth, but in his heart he meant nothing lesse, and that by such fraudulent dealing the good Catholikes were betrayed, and the Heretikes encouraged, and that therefore there was no good to be doone so long as there was such packing and false play. The Domestickall enemye was first to bee overthrowne, before the forraigne enemye could be vanquished.



quished. These and such like sinister informations, were given out among the multitude, by Friars, Priests, and *Jesuites*, in their Sermons, and many busie headed fellowes were set a worke to spreade these, and such like defamatorie speeches, with much vehemencie and earnestnesse, in Alehouses, Taverns, Markets, and all other places of greatest assembly. By reason of which slanderous and bad reports, there grew much murmuring among the people, with no small dislike of the present government. The King notwithstanding (as a man bewitched with the deceitfull dealing of his mother, and the treacherous practises of such counsellors, as he most favoured) eyther vnderstoode nothing of all this, or else was forced to winke at it, as wanting leysure or meanes to sift the matter more narrowly. For the rumour of the coming of the *Germanes*, the fortunate successe of the Lord *Digneret*, in *Dauphinie* and *Languedocke*, the counter-league of the King of *Nauarre*, the Prince of *Cande*, and a great number of verie Noble and honourable personages of the lande, with a full resolution to maintaine the reformed Religion, did so occupie his minde, that hee could not have leysure to looke into the rebellious driftes of the Leaguers, who continuallie incensed the King agaynst the Hugonots; and after the confusion and ruine of all his former Armyes, perswaded him to assaile those of the Religion in *Guyen*, with newe forces, vnder the conducting and leading of Duke *Joyeuse*, for that it was thought, that the Mareschall *Biron* was of too milde a nature, and had dealt somewhat too fauourably in his late voyage.

Thus Duke *Joyeuse* being armed, with the Kings authoritie, and aydded with a mightie power, invaded *Guyen*, where he tooke sundry townes, as *Médes*, *Saint Cloy*, *Saint Mexent*, *Tonday*, *Charente*, *Maylezay*, and some others: but the plague encreasing among his souldiers, he was forced to breake vp his campe, and to disperse his forces, and hee himselfe posted to *Paris*, to the rest of the principall Leaguers.

The King of *Nauarre* vnderstanding of his retreat, set vpon his stragling troupes, killed many, tooke sundrie prisoners, and in a short space recovered all that had bene lost. Thus the Leaguers had caused the King to spend much money about nought, intending thereby to weaken him, and strengthen themselves: for by this meanes they were still in authoritie, and did in a maner what soeuer they listed, empoverishing their enemyes, and enriching their friends, as the readiest way to effect that, which they had long before determined to accomplish.

About this time were the *Germanes* readie to march towards *France*: where of the King being aduertised, he prepared three severall Armies, with the which he ment both to defend himselfe, and to offend his enemyes. The Duke of *Guise* was made generall over the first, wherein were 23000. French men, besides 4000. *Swissers*, 2000. *Italians*, and sixe hundred light horse, sent to him out of the low Countreyes by the Duke of *Palma*. All which were appointed to barre the *Germanes* out of *Lorraine*, if it were possible, or else to hinder them, that they should not passe through *Champaigne*. The King led the second army into *Berry*, wherein was 33. companies of men of Armes, ten thousand French footemen, 12000. *Swissers*, 4000. *Rutters*, 12. double Canons, & 2000. pioners, with which

L

power

The Duke  
Joyeuse sent  
against the  
Protestants.

The great  
preparation  
of the King  
against the  
Germanes

power the King determined to keepe the *Loyre*. The duke *Joyeuse* conducted the third army against the King of *Nauarre*, to keepe him occupied, and to withhold him from ioyning with the *Germaines*.

*The battell  
of Contrai.*

The King of *Nauarre* gathered as great forces as he could, and being accompanied with the prince of *Conde*, Count *Soysons*, the Lord *Trimouille*, the vicount of *Turen*, and many other honorable estates, hasted to incorporate himselfe with his strangers, & vling great speed gat over the riuer of *Dronne*, where the duke *Joyeuse* had intended to stop his passage, and so marched forward, purposing to lodge at *Contrai*. The duke supposing that the aduantage was his, for that the king of *Nauarre* was weake in power, & inclosed between two riuers, so that he could not escape without fighting: as one desirous to do some notable exploit, resolved to trie his fortune by some generall fight. Whereupon hee tooke his place for the battell neare vnto *Contrai*. The King of *Nauarre* was glad of the Dukes resolution, and hauing disposed all his troupes in very warlike manner, wayted his best oportunitie to begin the battell. About eight of the clock in the morning the Artillarie on both sides began to play. And for that the king of *Nauarres* Ordinance was commodiously placed, it did maruellously endamage the Dukes men of armes, which stood at his right hand, as also the regiments wherewith they were flanked for their better assurance: wherewith when many were rent and torne in peeces, the rest resolved rather to charge then to die so miserably without any further fight. The harquebutziers came no sooner in reach each of other, but they powred out their shot as thicke as haile, each partie endeavouring to do well, and to annoy one another to their vitermost.

The king of *Nauarre* had diuided his horsemen into foure squadrons: the first was led by himselfe, the second by the Prince of *Conde*, the third by the Count *Soysons*, who stood on the left hand of the king, and the fourth by the vicount of *Turenne*, who was at his right hand, equally aduanced with the formost. These standing still, beheld the skirmish of their footmen, vntil the duke hasted to the generall onset: then these three Princes of the blood, euerie one in the front of their regiment, began to change their pace into a trot, and so into a gallop, gining such a furious charge vpon their enemies, that they wholly defeated them; and hauing killed a great number, the rest betooke them to flight. The footmen seeing their horsemen ouerthrowne, lost courage, and ranne away for company: then was the mortalitie great: for the Protestants pursuing them, committed a maruailous carnage among them that fled. There was slaine the Duke of *Joyeuse*, generall of the armie, and *Saint Suer* his brother, *Bressay*, *Rousay*, count *Suze*, Count *Ganeto*, Count *Aubiyon*, *Fumel*, *Rochford*, *Neufny*, *Gurats*, *Saint Fort*, *Tercelin*, maister of the campe, *Chefuer* and *Vallade*, besides many other Lordes and Gentlemen of marke. *Bellegard*, *Saint Luc*, the Marques of *Prennes*, Count *Moforeau*, *Sanjac*, *Cipierre*, *Santray*, *Montigny*, *Villecomblin*, *Chasteaurenault*, *Parriere*, *Chasteauneulx*, *Chasteloux*, and *Anuerdiere*, all captaines and commaunders were taken prisoners, Diuerse Castels and strong holdes were presently yeelded vnto the king of *Nauarre*, and a verie great feare possessed the hearts of the rest of his enemies.

*D. Joyeuse  
slaine, and his  
army ouer  
throwne.*



## CHAP. XXIII.

*The great armie of the Germanes ouerthrowne. The death of the Duke of Bonillon. The Guises slander the King. The Leaguers besiege the Duchesse of Bonillon. Their overthrow. The Prince of Conde poisoned. The Parisians rebel against the King. The King flieth to Chartres. The Guisards vow to kill the King.*



**T**He French King, and Duke of Guise were all this while verie busie in providing of all necessarie meanes to withstande the Germanes, who still came on forwardes. Their armie consisted of five thousand Ruitars, five thousand Lancequenets, sixteenethousand Switzers, with whom were ioyned foure thousand French harquebuziers, and three hundred French horse. The Lord *Montmorency* brought also two thousand French harquebuziers on horsebacke, the Lord *Villeneuve* one thousand, and the Lord *Louers* one thousand. The Lord *Chastillon* likewise ioined with them, with one thousand five hundred harquebuziers, and two hundred horses. The whole number came to some thirtie five thousand: besides the companies brought by the Prince of *Contie*. They had sixteen peeces of great Ordinance, with store of all warlike munition. The general of all these, was the Duke of *Bonillon*, who commaunded as Lieutenant for the King of *Nauarre*.

This mightie and puyssant armie was the terrour of the League, and the hope of the Protestants, but the expectation of both was disappointed: for after that the Germanes had marched through *Lorraine*, and were gotten into *France* as farre as *Lancy* in *Masconois*, where by reason that manie principall Captaines were corrupted with money and fayre promises, and the rest suffered great wants, they concluded to returne backe: so that hauing made their capitulation, and gotten theyr Passeportes, euerie man made all the speede homethat might bee, loden with miserie, shame, and dishonour, with the losse of many Ensignes and Corners, besides their chiefe leaders and commaunders. The Duke of *Bonillon*, generall of that armie, with the Lord *Clerebant* and *Van*, being not able to draw them forward by any perswasion, returned to *Genes*, where they died shortly after: The Count de *La Marke*, brother to the duke of *Bonillon*, was deceased long before at a place called *Loyne*. Great numbers of this dispersed armie were inuaded by their enemies, and slaine in their passage homewards, contrarie to the promise which had beene made vnto them by the Catholiques. The Colonels and Captaines of the Switzers, the chiefe authours of the dissolution of that Armie, were severely punished by their *Seigneuries*, so that this whole armie was maruellously afflicted, and euerie one was scourged after one sort or other: and hauing spent and spoyled infinitely, did nothing but worke their owne calamitie and overthrow.

The King vndoubtedly had taken martellous care to seuer this mightie puyssaunce, and by cunning handling of the matter, had brought them to this extreame passe, that vnder the colour of a Passeport, hee exposed them to the butcherie, and rage of their enemies. And although that by reason of

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*The army of the Germanes commaunded by the Duke of Bonillon.*

*Sundry of the Germane Captains corrupted by money caused the whole armie to retire. The death of the duke of Bonillon.*

*The Guises slander the King.*

this politique dealing, he deserued high commendation: yet the *Guise* so handled the matter, that all redownded to his further discredite, and cauled his subjects to speake worse of him then at anietime before. For the *Guise* had caused it to bee bruited abroad, that not onely the King had willingly suffered the *Germanes* to escape, contrarie to the counsaile and aduice of the Duke of *Guise*, but also had giuen them the meanes to retyre in safetie, some into *Germanie*, and others into *Languedocke*, there to ioyne with the King of *Nauarre*, and so to continue further troubles in the lande, to the great and intollerable harme of the good Catholiques, and the encouraging of Heretikes, and such as were enemies to holy Church.

When the Friers and Iesuits in *Paris*, and other principall cities were possessed with these newes, they brake forth into very seditious speeches, openly exclaiming against the King, and extolling the wisdom, prowesse & noble acts of the duke of *Guise*: whereby they procured him much fauor among the multitude that knew nothing, but what they heard by the Leaguers, and their fauorites, which made them think, that the King had killed his thousand, but the *Guise* his ten thousand. All which treacherous dealings tended to no other end but this: either to make the French beleue that the K. was not indowed with such noble and heroycall vertues, as were requisite for him that should gouerne so mightie and puissant a nation, or else that he was a notorious dissembler, a maintainer of Heretikes, & a secret enemy to the Catholikes. And then what should they doo with such a King? let the make choise of another more valiant, more wise, more prouident, more religious, & a more stout defender of holy Church: and who should that be, but the *Guise*, who for the zeale, courage, valour, and singuler dexteritie in the mannaging of matters of estate, was not onely superior to the King, but the paragon of all Europe.

The leaguers  
attempt an  
gainst the  
yong dukes  
of Bonillon.

The leaguers being assured of the death of the duke of *Bonillon*, and that hee had left his sister Madame *Charlate de la Marke*, a yong and tender Ladie, heyre to all his soueraigne seigneurie, and principalitie of *Bonillon*, thought it their best to let the king of *Nauarre* alone for a time, at whose handes there was little to be gotten, vnlesse they payed deare for it, and to enterprise somewhat agaynst this desolate Ladie, and either by hooke or by crooke (as wee vse to say) to get the Dukedome into their possession. VWhereupon the Duke of *Guise* vsed all the cunning hee coulde, to match his sonne the Prince *Jennill* with her: and the Duke of *Lorraine* was as earnest a suter for his sonne, called *Marthus de Pont*, and Lorde *Vaudemont*. But neither of them being able by all their deuises, to winne that Ladies fauour, they thought it best to ioyne together, and to compell her to match according to their lykings. With this resolution they entered the Dukedome of *Bonillon*, wiith a great power, burning, wasting, killing, murthering, rauishing, and committing all other horrible and detestable villanies that coulde bee imagined, and besieged the sayde Ladie, and her two principall Townes, *Sedan* and *Jamets*: where they continued a long tyme, spent much Treasure, and lost most of theyr men, and in the ende, with shame and dishonour, (beeing well beaten at a womans hand, by the valiant conduct of the Lord *Neculle*,) were glad to giue ouer, and returne home.

The crueltie  
of the lea-  
guers against  
the dukedom  
of Bonillon.

Whilest



Whilest the dukedom of *Bavillon*, was vexed and tormented with these troublesome sutors, the principal leaguers assembled at *Nancie* in *Lorraine*, where there was a great consultation helde, how they might aduance themselves, and overthrow the King, against whose person and state they had for a long time bent all their endeavors. There they agreed to present certain articles to the king, which they would haue him agree vnto: and those were such as tended to the viter destruction of the King, and the auncient Nobilitie of *France*, and the safetie of themselves. First, they requested the King to ioyne more openly with the League, and to put all such as they dislyked out of their offices: To cause the Councell of *Trent* to bee proclaymed throughout all his Dominions: To establish the Spanish inquisition: To put such Castels and strong Townes into their hands, as they should name vnto him: That hee should sende an armie into *Lorraine*, vpon the borders of *Germanie*, to let the entrie of strangers into the land, and for the maintenance thereof, should cause all the goods of those, whome they termed Heretikes or fauourers of Heretikes, to bee solde, and the money to bee deliuered into theyr hands. That the Catholiques should pay the tenth of their reuenues for the same purpose: and that the surplussage should bee to pay the most needfull debts of the principall Leaguers, and that the life of no Heretike prisoner, should be spared, vnlesse hee would abiure, and put in good securitie to liue Catholiquely hereafter, and to giue all his goods, or the iust valew of them, which hee hath then in his possession, to the supporting of the League, and to binde himselfe to serue three yeares, wherefoeuer he should be commaunded.

*The petitions of the league to the king.*

The King did allowe of such of these Articles as did any way concerne the suppression of the reformed Religion: but considering that the rest did wonderfull derogate from his Crowne and dignitie, and that they tended directly to the weakening of himselfe, and the strengthening of the league, of which, for a long tyme, hee had verie hardly conceyued, hee would not bee enduced to condescend vnto them, by anie manner of meanes or entreatie whatsoeuer.

*The king refuseth to grant all the petitions of the league.*

Now as the Leaguers laboured openly by these and such like deuises, to weaken the King, so they practised secretly to destroy the King of *Nauarre*, and Prince of *Conde*, knowing that if they were once ridde of them, it would bee an easie matter to accomplish the rest. Heerevpon they set on worke certaine wicked and diuellish persons, to bring these two great Princes to their deaths. And assuring themselves that this detestable deuise would take effect, they caused it on a suddaine to bee bruted all ouer the Reakme of *France*, that *Nauarre* and *Conde* were both dead. But by Gods good prouidence, *Nauarre* escaped that daunger, and tooke no harme.

The Prince of *Conde* by the treacherous and villaynous dealing of some of his houtholde seruants, and amongst others, of one *Brillant*, and a page, (two such as he had greatly fauoured, and bestowed many benefites vpon) was poisoned the third day of March, in the yere of our Lord, one thousand five hundred eightie and eight, and died within two dayes after, at *Saint Jean d'Angely*. Whose death was greatly lamented of all good men, for that hee was wise, valiant, zealous in religion, true harted to his Prince, a louer of his country, and

*The prince of Conde poisoned.*

*The great commendation of the prince of Conde.*

an irreconcilable enemie to the perturbors of the state; and to all such as hee knewe to be aduersaries to God, to the King, and to the Crowne of *France*.

The *Guises* and the rest of the leaguers, reioyced not a little at this newes: for nowe they thought they were gotten one steppe higher, and had greater hope to oppresse the Protestants then before: who they knewe were mightily weakened with this losse. And for that they supposed that in this conseruation of mens mindes, they had oportunitie to attempt something, which might still aduance their affaires, they thought good that the Lorde *Lauerdin*, who had scaped a scowring at the battaile of *Contras*, should assaile *Marans*, a place of very great importaunce, and if it were possible to make it sure for the leagie.

*Marans*  
gained by the  
Lord *Lauer-*  
*din*.

The Lord *Lauerdin* applied his businesse so diligently, that he gayned the sayd Island of *Marans* in a short time, by reason that the Protestants, being amased (as it were) with the v unexpected death of the Prince, did not prouide timelie enough for the fortifying thereof, with such store of men and munition, as was necessarie.

Albeit that the King was glad, that the Lord *Lauerdin* had gotten *Marans*, yet he liked not that it should be kept by the Lord *Cluseaux*, whom he knewe to bee a fauourer of the Leagie: but there was no remedie, he must beare with the time, being indeede not able to doe as hee would, for the most part of his Councell, and those of the chiefeest were leaguers, and the Duke of *Guise*, the head of those monsters, had caused such infamous rumours to be rayfed of the Kings actions, and by secret practises had so disgraced him among his subiects, that he was almost growne into contempt among the communaltie, and was imputed no bodie in comparison of the *Guise*. This opinion the King would gladly haue rooted out, and was verie desirous to gaine their good willes and affections, if possibly he might. The better to effect this, he thought best to proclaime wars afresh against the Protestants, and to rayse a great power, and to go in person into *Poitou*, agaynst the King of *Nauarre*, and all his confederates, that so by some famous exploits against those of the reformed religion, hee might regaine the loue and liking of his lost subiects.

The King  
prepares to  
go into  
*Poitou* a-  
gainst the  
Protestants.

The *Guise*  
determineth  
to seise vpon  
*Paris*, and  
to take the  
King.

The Duke of *Guise*, who knew that he had stollen away the peoples hearts from the King, thought it now good time to discouer his secrete meaning more openly, and presuming of his fauourers at Court, and the good wil of the countrey, concludeth to get *Paris*, to seise vpon the king either aliue or dead, to kill as many princes of the blood, and other officers of the crown as he could lay hands vpon, and by fine force to set the diadem of *France* vpon his owne head. Now that he might be the more assured to accomplish all this, he wrote secret letters to all his chiefe friends and followers, to meete him at *Paris*, as speedily as they might. And for that the King should not be able to withstand him, he had set the duke of *Anmale* to warre against sundry townes and cities in *Picardy*, and had giuen order that others should attempt as much in *Normandy*, and other places: knowing that the king would send thither his principall forces to keepe those countries in his obedience, and then he might with more facilitie execute his intended purpose.

Vpon these aduertisements of the *Guise* to his associates, there repayred vnto



unto *Paris*, great numbers of the most factious, turbulent, and malecontent persons of all the Land. Many Spanish Captaines and *Hispaniolized* French, were loone assembled in that mightie Cittie, and that to the number of fifteene or lixteene thousand: besides, the Citizen Leaguers who were exceeding many, and those as desperate and rash headed as any others whosoever: the Duke of *Guise* being diligently enformed of this, and knowing how greatly hee was expected at *Paris* by his confederates, resolved to post thither with all speedes, and the rather for that the king (euen as he wished) had now disperfed his forces, sending some into *Normandy* and others into *Picardy* to maintaine his authoritie in those prouinces: the King had long mistrusted the *Guise*, & for that he was now aduertised that hee was comming to *Paris*, he vehemently suspected that there was some notable practise in hand, to be performed against him by the Leaguers, he therefore sent word to the sayd Duke, whom hee vnderstood to bee forward on his way, by the Lord *Belieure*, that in no wise hee should come to *Paris* at that time vppon paine of his displeasure, and in case that he would notwithstanding continue his iourney, that then hee helde him for a traytour and the authour of all those miseries wherewith the Land was so encombred at that instant: *Belieure* did his message, but the *Guise* did little regard it, for he followed the said *Belieure* at the heeles, and was at *Paris* almost as soone as hee, accompanied not past with some fifteene or sixteene Gentlemen, the better to couer his intended purpose, knowing that he should finde a sufficient number of partakers to maintaine himselfe against all men.

Not long after his arriuall, he went very confidently to see the king, and with all humble reuerence with his knee to the ground, saluted him: but the king being highly displeased for that his coming, contrary to his commandement, gaue him a frowning countenance. The *Guise* stayed not long at Court but returned to his house in the Cittie: immediately after, the King being duely enformed of the great number of strangers that were in the same Cittie, and that it was verie likely that they remained there for some dangerous exploit, caused twelue companies of French men and Switzers to bee distributed into sundrie places to keepe all quiet and in their due obedience. The Cittizens at the instigation of the *Guise* & his companies, tooke the Alarm, & making as though they feared that they should be murdered and haue their houses sacked, (for diuers were sent about to disperse such reports) armed themselves, and being assisted by *Brissac*, *Borsdauphin*, *Chamois*, and the rest of the *Guysards*, set vpon the Switzers and the rest of the Kings guardes: whereof some they killed, and others they disarmed, and such as remained they kept as prisoners, and hoping now to attaine to the Period of their desires, they made their approches and besieged the Loure, intending to take the King either aliue or dead.

The king seeing all that great and populous Cittie in an vprore, and that hee had not sufficient forces to oppose against such a rebellious rable, determined to leaue the Loure, at the perswasions of sundrie his most faithfull counsellors, who aduised him to giue place to that desperate Rebellion, & to seeke his safetie some other where: whereupon he incontinently departed from *Paris*, and went that night as farre as *Trappes*, and the next day to his Cittie of *Chartres*. Many great Lords & Gentlemen of good place which were the kings friends,

went

The *Guise*  
entred into  
*Paris* contr  
ry to the  
Kings com-  
mandement,

The *Paris*  
ans rise as  
against the  
King and his  
guard.

The King  
leaueth *Pa-*  
*ris* and fleeth  
to *Chartres*.

went after him as fast as they could, some on horsebacke, and some on foote, making as good shift as they could vpon so short warning: wherein wee may note a maruailous strange alteration and vicissitude in the state of this great Prince, who hauing beene so mightie a monarke, and a king of two such noble and puissant countreies as were *Polonia* and *France*, a commander ouer so many great and honourable personages, and had ruled such an infinite multitude of all sorts, was now driuen out of his owne house, and out of his cheefest Citie, and forced to flie before him who was his vassaille and subiect, to his intollerable greefe and vexation, leauing his treasure and whatsoeuer precious things he had, to be a pray for his enemies.

*The Guyse  
seizes vpon  
the Kings  
treasure.*

*the King  
treasure.*

The *Guyse* vnderstanding that the king was escaped, and had auoyded his bloody fingers, was maruailously greeued, and curied his oversight, knowing that hee should neuer haue the like oportunitie againe to effect his purpose, and fearing that the King would seeke to be reuenged of so great an indignitie offered to his person, thought that hee would provide the meanes as well as he could, to defende himself and his: & therefore he seized vpon the Kings arsemaill, and vpon his treasure, whereof hee brought to his owne house aboute seauen hundred thousand Crownes, which hee laide vp as an earnest for the rest. Then did he forthwith alter the pollicie of the Citie, remouing *Perrense* the prouost of the Merchants from his office, and the rest of the cheefest officers which he knew to be affectionate to the king, and placed such as were the most factious & seditious Leaguers in their roumes: he wrote also sundry letters to his friends abroad, and to the principall Townes such as he knew to bee deuoted to him, requiring them to ioyne with him, and to be in a readinesse when hee should haue neede, and caused it to be bruted, that all that which had passed at *Paris* was not against the king, but to defend the Citie which was in danger to bee spoyled by strangers, and that the king by the counsell of the Duke of *Espernon*, who had (said he) intelligence with the King of *Nauarre* and the Heretikes, had caused sundrie gibbets to be set vp in seuerall places of the Citie, to hang diuers Cittizens and to spoyle their houles, thereby to gather money, and to warre against the Leaguers.

*The Guyse  
seeketh to con-  
uer his rebels  
liant action.*

*liant action.*

*liant action.*

*liant action.*

When the *Guyse* had taken the course to assure himselfe by all the deuises hee could, hee wrote letters to the king, seeking to disguise all this action, and to perswade him, that hee had no euill meaning against his maiestie, but had alwaies beene and still remained his most dutifull subiect, and had in this tumultuous stirre, happened at *Paris*, shewed how hee respected the King and all his seruants, in that hee had taken so great prayes even with the danger of his life to save sundrie his officers, his Captaines and Souldiers, and so farre forth as possibly he might, to keep the people from murder and bloodshed, which was then so likely to haue fallen out, and that to the great and irreperable harme of the Kings best affected subiects. After the alleaging of these and many other arguments to proue his fidelitie, he besought the king to be his gracious Lord, and to account of him as his most faithfull and loyall subiect, and for that hee had a guiltie conscience, hee was continually in seare, lest the King would at one time or other bee reuenged, howsoeuer peradventure for the time hee might dissemble the matter, and shew him a saye countenance, and therefore



therefore hee practised all meanes to make his attonement, and to that ende made earnest sute to the Queene mother to stand his gracious Lady. Such was his demeanor, and so cunningly hee handled the matter, that she was wooon to be a mediator for him, and to assaie to bring him againe into the kings fauor.

The king reposing a maruailous confidence in his mother, who had bewitched him with an opinion of her loue and naturall affection towards him, suffered himselfe to be ruled by her aduice, notwithstanding all the perswasions of the Catholikes that were about him, who exclaimed against the *Guyse* and their proude and rebellious enterprises, and required the king to take condigne punishment, proffering him their seruice, their liues, theyr goods, and whatsoeuer meanes they had for the accomplishment thereof. The king thanked them for their good willes, but resolving to make a peace, sent them home againe, and would not follow their counsels. After much going and comming on both sides, the reconciliation was made, & the K. & the Leaguers became good friends, and intended to bend all their forces against the Protestants. Whereupon two mighty armies were prepared, the one for *Guyen*, commanded by the Duke of *Neuers*, & the other for *Dauphiny*, vnder the leading of the Duke of *Maine*. All these troublous stirs being now ended, & the K. and the Leaguers beeing made friends, it was thought good to call an assembly of the state to reforme the pollicie of the Land, and to take some finer course for the prosecuting of the warres against the Hugonots, and to that ende the king sent his writs to summon all prouinces, Cities, and townes, to send their deputies to *Bloys*, prouided alwaies that they were good Catholiks, and such as neither had fauour, nor were any waies suspected to fauour the king of *Nauarre* nor his associates, and the Duke of *Guyse* and the rest of the Leaguers so handled the matter in the meane time, that not any one man in a manner was chosen to be sent to that assembly, but such as they were assured did either openly or secretly fauor their proceedings.

At this great Parleament there was much adoo and many things talked of, but especially of the Edict of *Reunion*, made the one and twentie of Iuly, which tended to the establishing of Poperie, the rooting out of Heresie, and the disinheriting of the Princes of the bloud, prouoking the king with many bitter words & vehemēt exhortations, to embrew his hāds in the bloud of the saints, and with fire and sword to roote them out of *France*. All which was assented vnto by the king and his three estates, & enacted as a fundamentall law of the land, which they all swore to see inuiolably kept, and obserued in al the kings dominions, to the vttermoſt of their powers.

The king of *Nauarre* was quickly aduertised of whatsoeuer had passed at *Bloys*, and therefore assembled all his principall friends & followers at *Rochel*, the 16. of Nouember following, whither likewise all the reformed churches sent their deputies: where they resolved vpon the defensiuē, and the meanes how to withstand their enemies. The king continued at *Bloys* all this while, and albeit hee shewed a faire countenance to the *Guyse*, yet in heart hee loued him not, for that indignitie which was offered him at *Paris*, besides many other saucie and audacious Pranks which hee plaide since, did breed a reuenging minde in the K. which he meant to shew more apparantly as soone as any opportunity was offered. Now as it vsually falleth out betweene late reconciled enemies, each

*The Queen  
mother re-  
conclath the  
Guyse to the  
King.*

*Two armies  
sent against  
the Prote-  
stants.*

*This Parli-  
ament was  
appointed to  
begin the  
15. of Aug-  
ust, yet as  
toward it  
was deferred  
vntill the  
ninth of Oc-  
tober follow-  
ing.*

*The Prote-  
stants assem-  
ble at Rochel*

*Two soldiers  
uprises in  
Court.*

each still suspected other, and many iarres fell out betweene their friendes and followers; which bred sundrie Rurres and hurleburles in the Court: but there were two especially which gaue the Alarum to the Courtiers, and made euerie man to stand vpon his guard. The first quarrell arose among the Pages and lackies, some holding with the Burbons, and some with the Leaguers, wherewith the Duke of *Guyse* was so affrighted, that hee ran into his chamber, barred the doores, and kept himselfe as close as he could. The second was occasioned by a souldier, who beeing hurt, came to saue himselfe in the *Guyse* Chamber, whither hee was followed by the kings guard, with their drawen swords in their hands, whereupon once againe all the Court was in an vp-  
 rore, not without great feare, least some dangerous euent would ensue.

*The Guyse a  
maintainer  
of murder-  
ers and Re-  
bels.*

About the middle of December, the Duke of *Guyse* shewed himselfe more disobedient then at any time before, and a great contemner of the king and his authoritie, in maintaining a number of Ruffians, murderers, factious & seditious persons, and such as raised a rebellion in August last, and had attempted the killing of the Duke of *Esperman* at *Engolesme*. These were lodged in the Court, and flocked about the *Guyse*, and were so countenanced by him, that no Magistratedurst say a word to them: besides, the king being daily enformed of many trecherous practises against his person and estate, called al his Nobles, and willed them to sweare, that they should neuer attempt any thing against him: the Duke most disloyally refused, and said in his presence, that he would not take such an oath, and if hee did any thing otherwise then he ought, there were good lawes to punish him, spare him not. no other answer could be gotten at his hands, and fearing that the king would be reuenged as well for this as for other notorious contempts, as also considering that all the drifts of his counsellors were so discovered, that there was no way to hide them any longer, and therefore that now with all speede hee must put them in execution, hee called a Councell of his most trusty friends, as *Lewis* Cardinall of *Guyse* his brother, the Archbishop of *Lyons*, and some fewe others, in which it was concluded, that the king must needes bee dispatched out of hand, and that all delaies were dangerous: and therefore the twentie foure of that moneth was appointed for that tragical execution, binding themselves to see the same performed with a solemne oath.

*The Guyse  
refuseth to  
take his oath  
for the pre-  
servation of  
the King.*

*The Guyse  
and his affor-  
mates vow to  
kill the king.*

Thus was this great french king discovered of a very auncient and noble race, honoured for a long time of his owne subjects, and reuerenced of his neighbour Princes, condemned to die by the hands of most disloyall traytors, who had all their aduancement by him and his predecessors.

CHAP.



## CHAP. XXIII.

*The King resolneth to kill the Guyse. The death of Francis Duke of Guyse, and of the Cardinall his brother. The terror of the Guyfards. The death of the Queene mother.*



Though the King knew not of this sentence of death which was pronounced against him, yet the olde and new iniuries offered vnto him by the *Guyse*, did sufficiently exasperate him, and made him watch all opportunitie to seeke his reuenge, and as soone as euer he could to be ridde of so desperate a traytor. This determination of the king could not be kept so secret, but that the *Guyse* having many friends about the king, who suspected some such thing, advertised the Duke the two and twenty of December, by laying a little bill vnder his napkin, wherein was written: *Locke to your selfe for some are about to play a shrewd play with you.* Hee perusing the writing, wrote this answer: *They dare not*, and so threw it vnder the Table. The same day the king receiued diuers advertisements of this horrible conspiracie of the *Guyse* against his person, and especially from the Duke of *Maine*, who sent *Alphonso Corseto* him with this message. *That it was an easie matter to carrie beades about, and to put on a counterfeite shew of holinesse, but hee was sure that his brother had a dangerous enterprise in hand against his Maiestie, which he knew not certainly when hee would put in execution, but hee was well assured that the time was not farre off, and that hee doubted least his warning should come too late.* And aduised him in these words, *That his Maiestie should beware of a desperate and furious mind.* The Duke of *Aumaile* sent likewise the duchesse his Wife to give the King to vnderstand, *That there was great danger towards his person, and that the conspirators were vpon the poynt of execution.* The king had also intercepted manie letters, by which hee did evidently perceiue as much, and how that the *Guyse* had sworne his death and destruction, and disinheriting of the royall blood of *France* in the houses of *Valoys* and *Burbons*, and to sene vpp the house of *Lorraine*.

All these remonstrances made the king bestirre him, and to deuise some speedie Course for the preseruacion of his owne life. Whereupon he got the keyes of the Castle, doubled his guards, and appointed a strong watch in the Town, with commandement not to open the gates without his speciall licence: all which was doone in the night, without the knowledge of the *Guyse*, and calling vnto him some seauen or eight of those five and sortie pensioners which daily attended on his person, hee reuealed vnto them his purpose, requiring theyr ayde and assistance, who receiued most willingly their seruice, with promise to execute his will, and to doo as his Maiestie had directed them.

The next morning the Duke of *Guyse*, the Cardinall his brother, the Archbishop of *Lyons* with the Mareschall of *Haultmont* were assembled in the chamber neere vnto the king, and readie to sit in councell howe and in what manner it were best to commit their detestable parricide. The king hauing disposed of all things in the best manner that hee could deuise, sent a Gentleman to call the

*The King resolneth to kill the Guyse.*

*The aduerso-  
ment of  
the Duke of  
Maine and  
Aumaile to  
the King,  
touching the  
attempt of  
the Guyse.*

the Duke of *Guyse* to come and speake with him, who comming forth, and seeing the Guards more carefully disposed then was accustomed, having a guiltie conscience, beganne to suspect, and (as oftentimes the minde of man vpon the instant of so great aduentures presageth that which afterward ensueth) so at this present the Dukes hart fainted, and his colour changed, & as one fearing some imminent perill, hee was readie to swoone: hee had sent his Page for a handkercheffe, in one of the corners whereof his secretarie named *Pellicart* had knit vp a little written bill, containing a warning to get him away with all speede, or else he were but dead. But this handkercheffe was intercepted with the remembrance, as the Page was comming vpp, and neuer came to his handes.

*The death of  
Francis D.  
of Guyse.*

*The death  
of the Cardinall  
of Guyse.*

The Duke in going through a narrow passage to the King, increased his mistrust, and was about to returne, but still hee went forwards into the Kings vnter chamber, where seeing the Lord *Loignake* sitting vpon a cheft, whom of all other he most hated, for that he had beene long perswaded that the same Lord determined to kill him, hee set his hand to his sword with a purpose to set vpon the sayde *Loignake*: but by reason hee did weare his Cloake Scarfewise, he was so troubled, that he could not draw it past halfe way out of the sheath: they who were appoynted for his execution, seeing him enterprise such an audacious act and that at the kings chamber doore, prevented him and slew him at that instant.

The noyse was such in this tragicall execution, that the Cardinall entred into a mistrust, and made hast to get forth, but he was stayed by a Gentleman of the Scottish guard, who had commandement to arrest him, and not long after by reason of his former treasons and his presumptuous behaviour at that present, mingled with some threatning speeches, hee was strangled in the same place where hee was taken prisoner. The Archbishop rushed forth in great furie, and saide hee would helpe the Duke of *Guyse*, but hee was quickly cooled and clapt vp in prison, though afterwarde released vpon his submission and acknowledgement of his offence. The Cardinall of *Burbon*, the Prince *Jeuille* sonneto the Duke of *Guyse*, the Mareschall *D'Albenfe*, with many other pertakers in this treason, were apprehended and committed to safekeeping, and likewise *Pellicart* secretarie to the Duke of *Guyse* with all his papers and writings, whereby all the secret Councelles of the *Guyse*s and the rest of the Leaguers, as well of Princes and Nobles as of the Clergie, Towne, and Cities, were manifested and discovered.

*The Guyse  
sards flie  
from Blois.*

The fame of this execution was forthwith spread abroad in the Towne, albeit the Castle gates were shut, which made all such as had guiltie consciences to packe from *Blois* as speedily as euer did the Protestants from the suburbs of *Saint Germaine* on *Bartholmeu* day, and to seeke to shift for themselves some other where.

Thus were the Leaguers wonderfully crossed in their designements, and many who the day before thought it an honour to bee called *Guyse*sards and were readie to challenge to the Combate, such as reputed them *Royalles* were now altered on the sodaine, and cast in a newe mould, esteeming all that factious multitude worse then theenes and murderers.

Shortly



*The death of  
the Queens  
mother of  
Fraunce.*

Shortly after that these things thus passed at *Blois*, died the Queene mother, who was very olde, and had liued too long for *Fraunce*, where she had beene as the firebrand of the Country, the nurse of all rebellions, the bellowes of all ciuill dissention, the instrument of the diuell, to worke all impietie and vngodlinesse, the procurer of the fall and destruction of her owne children, and the principal worker of all this wofull and lamentable alteration, happened in that noble and renowned Kingdome.

## CHAP. XXV.

*The rebellion of Duke de Maine, and most of the principall Cities of Fraunce. The King of Fraunce, and the King of Nauarre are reconciled, The King of Fraunce murdered by a Frier, The King of Nauarre proclaimed King of Fraunce.*



He King thought good to aduertise all his subiects of that which had happened at *Blois*, and for that purpose wrote diuerse Letters to his seuerall gouernors of his prouinces, duly enforming them of all these occurrences: and sent to the assembly of the States, to let them vnderstande, that it was his pleasure, that they should still continue: and that he was fully determined to followe their reasonable counsailes in all things: but they by little and little slyding away one after another, got them home into their Countreyes: and by spreading of most accursed and damnable rumours, deprauing the Kings fact with many hyperbolicall speeches, which they amplified with sundry lying reasons, and defamatorie libels, tearing this execution by the name of the massacre committed at *Blois*, caused an vniuersall rebellion of all those Townes, Cities, and Prouinces, which had reiecte the Gospel in former tymes. The Duke de *Maine* no sooner vnderstood thereof, but that he perswaded himselfe, that seeing his brother was dead, he might now peradventure obtaine the Crowne for himselfe, if hee would lay in for it: for hee had a great power in a readinesse, and no doubt but the most of the Leaguers would followe him, for feare least if they shoulde fall into the Kinges handes, hee would punish them according to theyr deserts. With this resolution hee left *Dauphiny*, and hasted into *Burgundie*, and *Champaigne*, taking with him such strength and power as hee could get, and making sure as manie places as hee coulde come by, prepared to make warre agaynst the king.

*Paris* which was the capitoll Citie of the whole kingdome, and had more fauoured the *Guise* then anie other, was moued to great indignation, and shewed it selfe highly offended. And being further incensed with the piteous outcries and lamentable complaints of the Duchesses of *Guise* and *Nemours*, and with the inuectiue Sermons of the Iesuites, and Friers, grewe into a desperate madnesse, shaking off the yoke of obedience, and rebelled open-lye agaynst theyr naturall Prince, and liege Lorde. Most of the greatest, richest, and strongest Cityes, as *Orleanse*, *Roan*, *Amiens*, *Aniou*, *Lyons*, *Abeville*, *Rennes*, *Tholous*, and manie others, followed the example of the Parisians,

M

and

1589

*The duke de  
Maine rebel  
leth agaynst  
the King.*

*Paris and  
the rest of the  
principall Cites  
rebell agaynst  
the King.*

and conspiring with the rest of the Leaguers, imprisoned the Kings friends, seized vpon his strong holdes, robbed him of his treasure, and vsed him in all outrageous and rebellious maner.

*The seditions  
diminish of  
the Sorbo-  
nists.*

The King vnderstanding of all these seditious stirres, sought by faire meanes and in gentle maner, to reduce them to their obedience, sending out his proclamations to pardon whatsoeuer was past, and to burie it in the graue of oblivion, so that they would lay downe their Armes, and liue peaceable vnder his authoritie, as in dutie they were bound: but they made no reckoning of the Kings clemencie, but rearmed it towardnesse, as though hee were afrayed of their forces, being animated by the Sorbonists, and their Doctours in Theologie, who had resolved that they were set free from their oath of obedience, and former allegiaunce made vnto *Henrie the thirde*. And that it was lawfull for them, and for all the residue of the people of *France*, to take Armes agaynst the iayde King *Henrie*, and to persecute him, and all his adherents, with fire and sworde, as enemyes to God, to their Countrey, and to holy Church.

*The duke de  
Maine made  
general of the  
Leaguers.*

*The leaguers  
appoint a  
councell of  
state.*

*The leaguers  
notorious  
disobedience.*

When they had once gotten this aduantage, that they were able to colour their proceedings (as it were with an oracle from heaven) they made no more conscience at the matter, but presently determined to choosethem a Generall for the leading of their forces, and to establish a new Councell: by whose direction they might manage the rest of their affayres. They refused all the Princes of the blood, and chose the Duke de *Maine*, who was a man much fauoured of the leaguers, and one that was well acquainted with all their practises. The Dukes of *Aumale*, and *Nemours*, with the *Cheualier of Aumale*, were made gouernours of *Paris*. There were also 47. of the most seditious, turbulent, factious, and bitterest enemies to the King, appoynted to order the state, as the kings priuie councell had done in former times. These had no sooner gotten this authoritie into their handes, but they committed most horrible outrages against all such as they suspected to be the kings friends, imprisoning, murdering, robbing, sacking and spoiling them in such sort, as was neuer heard of within any mans remembrance, and going to the royall pallace called the *Louure*, they seized vpon all the kings goods, they violated the great Seale of *France*, brake it in peeces, and trode it vnder their feete. They rent and tore the Armes of *Valois*, and *Burbon*, and trayled them in most despitesfull manner in the mire and dyrt through the Streetes: and assembling as manie of the principall Leaguers, both of the Nobilitie, Cleargie, and Commualtie as they coulde, wrote to other Cities, their Confederates, to follow their example, and to ioyne with them, and also to procure as manie partakers as they might, the better to countenance their proceedings.

The king had often and very seriously dissuaded them from this seditious course, and with all lenitie sought to reduce them to their former obedience: but considering that he preuailed nothing by gentlenesse, and clemency, but rather that the people waxed worse & worse, he therfore now determined to take a sharper course, and by force to bring them vnder his obedience, but fearing his owne weaknesse, and want of sufficient power to bring his purposes to passe for that he was, as it were compassed about with his enemies, not knowing what



to doo, or whome to trust, perceyuing that the most of those who were about him, were fauorers of the rebels, hee was content to follow the aduice of his most trustie counsellors, and to make peace with the King of Navarre, and to vse his counsaile and forces for his iust and lawfull defence: and the rather for that the Duke de Maine approached verie neare vnto him, with a great and puissant armie. Thus was the king for the safetie of his person; forced to cast himselfe into the armes of him, whom for manie yeares hee had reputed for his mortall enemye, and glad to seeke to be preserued by such an one, whose destruction he had sought with all extremitie.

*The king makes peace with the King of Navarre.*

The King of Navarre being aduertised of the Kings intent, and solicited by sundry messengers to come to his ayde with all expedition, called his Nobles and Captaines, and gathered all his forces together, and passing ouer the Loyre at Samur, went towards the King, who was greatly distressed at Tours, and in imminent perill, to bee oppressed by the Leaguers. The King vnderstanding of his approach, the thirtie of Aprill sent the Marechall Hautmont, accompanied with a great number of the Nobilitie, to desire him to come to Plessy de Tours; where hee with all his Court staid for him.

*The meeting of the King of France, & the King of Navarre.*

The King of Navarre readily obeyed, passing ouer the bridge of Saint Saphorin, where hee left all his forces in bataille array, and went towards the King, whom hee found staying for him in the Parke of Plessy. There was such a concourse of people, and so great a throng, that the two Kings were forced to stay aboue halfe a quarter of an houre, stretching and holding out their hands before they could embrace one another: so great was the preate, and such a multitude were flockt together, to beholde this ioyfull and blessed meeting. The kind embracings and louing salutations betwene these two Potentates, did euidently declare their inward ioy & contentation. The reioysing of all sorts was incredible: nothing was heard for the space of halfe an houre, but God saue the King: a voyce which had not beene heard neare the Court in more then foure Moneths before. And reiterating their ioyfull acclamations, they ceased not but cryed out, God saue the Kings, God saue the King, and the King of Navarre.

Here wee may see a straunge and maruailous alteration on the sudden: for these two Princes which had beene so bitter enemies, each hauing for a long time pursued other by cruell and bloodie warres, are now reconciled, and are become louing and kind friends. And the king, who not long before stood in danger, either to be murdered, or else to be deliuered into the hands of those, who thirsted for nothing more then for his blood, is now freed from all feare, and restored to his former libertie: and is fortified by the arryual of this Prince and Armie, which did both countenance his authoritie, and encourage his friends, and so daunted his enemyes, that the Duke de Maine, was glad to giue ouer his siege before Chasteaurenault, and so retire to Paris with all speed.

*The Duke de Maine hasteth to Paris.*

The two kings late often in counsell about their affaires, deuising of the best means to prosecute their warres for their most aduantage. The king of Navarre made many roades into the Countie, to the great damage and hurt of the Leaguers, and so scourd the coast that no enemye durst once appeare in sight.

*The King  
marcheth to-  
ward Paris.*

In the meane while the king receiued certaine Regiments of Switzers, and help came from all parts of his Realme: so that his armie dayly encreased in number, fame and power. And being now able to meete his enemies in the face, he marched toward *Paris*, and tooke by the way *Ponthois*, *Saint Clow*, *Poysey*, *Saint Germaines*, *Charewion*, and sundrie other townes. By which means that great and populous Citie beganne to bee sore distressed for want of victuals and other necessities.

*The leaguers  
conspire to kill  
the King.*

This made the conspirators to tremble, and to lay their heads together, howe to auoyd this perill, which now hung ouer their heads: whereupon the dukes of *Maine*, *Anjou*, and *Nemours*, the Archbishop of *Lions*, whom the King a little before had pardoned and set at libertie, the Lord *Rosne*, *Duchaphin*, *Brissac*, *Sagone*, the 47. which were chosen for the Councell, and the 17. Colonels, which were appointed ouer the 18. wards of the city assembled together: and after much reasoning, *pro & contra*, at last resolued that the onely meanes to saue themselves, and to aduance their affaires, was to kill the King, who otherwise was likely to get the Citie in short time, and to take an exemplarie punishment vpon them, and all their adherents. Hereupon the King is once againe condemned to die, and as speedie a course taken as might be deuised to hasten his execution. They perswaded with one *Frier James Clement*, of the order of *S. Dominicke*, a lewd and bold hypocrite, and endued him with many reasons (who was otherwise ready enough to any mischiefe) to attempt this tragical and bloody act. They forced the first president of the Senate, named *Harlay*, whom for his faithfulness to his Prince, they had long detained in prison, to write letters to the King, which this *Frier* should carrie with him. They taught the sayd *Clement* likewise a lesson, containing matters of great weight and importunance, aduising him that he should not disclose them to any but to the King, and that in private, and great secrecie. Prouiding him besides, a sharpe & long knife, enuened with deadly poyson, wherewith he should aduenture to murder the sayd King, as soone as he espied any fit occasion offered, and entreated *Pagorola* the Popes Legat to blesse him, and his knife for his better speed.

*Frier Clement  
goeth to  
the campe at  
Saint Clow.*

The *Frier* being throughly schooled by this accursed companie, prepareth for his iourney: he putteth on his hypocriticall weed on his back, layeth vp his lesson in his head, and secretly hideth his poisoned knife in his sleue, and taking an other *Frier* as bad as himselfe in his companie, hasteth to execute his deuillish purpose and intent. Hee was no sooner come to the Campe, which then lay at *Saint Clow*, but hee tolde such as hee mette first, that hee had Letters to the King from the first President, and certaine other Parisians, well affected to his Maiestie, contrayning matters of verie great importunance, besides manie other waightie things to bee declared by worde of mouth. The King being soorthwith aduertised hercof, commaunded that hee shoulde attende vntill hee were called. Within a while after, the king willed that the *Frier* shoulde bee brought before him. The *Frier* entered verie boldlie into the kings Chamber, and being asked what his errant was, hee answered that hee had matters of great waight and importunance, to declare vnto his Maiestie, and such as highly concerned his service, the king supposing that all was Gospel that the *Frier* sayde, commaunded such as were about him



to a moyde the Chamber, and sat downe in a Chayre to heare the Friars newes. The Frier approached to the King, and falling vpon his knees, beganne to tell a long tale: and occupying the Kinges eares with a long and lying discourse, espying his aduantage, drewe out his knife out of his sheath, and stabbed the King in the lower part of his belly, and then made hast to get away. The king being wonderfully terrified with that vnexpected attempt, cryed out, and laying hand vpon a dagger which was neare him, strooke the Frier, and wounded him. The Lords and Gentlemen which were attending in an vther Chamber, hearing the noyse, came running in, and with their Swordes and Rapiers, slue the Frier.

*Frier Clement wounded the king with a poysoned knife.*

*Frier Clement is slaine*

The Kings Surgeons were presently called, and his wound dressed, and he layde on his bed. And for that he knewe not whether he should die or not, he called for the king of Navarre, all the Princes, Lordes, and Noble men, that were in his Campe, and for the Capitaines, Colonels, and Chieftaines of the straungers, before whom hee declared, that the king of Navarre was the true, and indubitate heyre to the Crowne of France: praying and exhorting all of them to acknowledge him, and to promise true obedience vnto him, and to cause the lyke to be acknowledged in the whole Campe: and forthwith caused Letters to be written to all Prouinces and Cities, to aduertise them, howe things had passed at Saint Cloue, and of his last will and Testament: requiring all his faithfull subiects to protest the fulfilling of the same: instantly requiring all true Frenchmen to reuenge his death, and to take condigne punishment vppon the authors of that impious & execrable fact, and so the two and twentie of Iulie 1589. the poyson preyling, and disperfing it selfe through his bodie, notwithstanding all the remedies that could be deuised, or imagined, hee yeilded vp his life into the handes of him that gaue it him, hauing reigned fourteene yeares, and seven moneths.

*The King of Navarre made haire apparant to the crowne of France.*

*The death of Henry the 3 the French King.*

And this was the ende of Henrie the third the French king, and king of Polonia, and the last of the house of Valois: who being bewitched with the sorceries of his mother, and inclyning to euill by his owne bad disposition, opposed himselfe agaynst Gods true religion, and being giuen ouer to worke his owne destruction, followed the wicked counsailes of his notorious and sworne enemies, who spake him fayre to his face, but inwardly hated him, and neuer ceased persecuting of their deuillish deuises, vntill they had brought his state to confusion, and procured his vntimely death and destruction.

BOOK III. CHAP.

## CHAP. XXVI.

*Henrie the fourth the French King, overthroweth the Leaguers in two seuerall battels, Great famine in Paris. The Duke of Parma entrencheth into Fraunce, relieueth Paris. From hence he flieth againe in great haste into the Lowe Countreyes: The Pope excommunicateth the King, VVho causeth his Bull to be burned at Towers. The great Armie of the Germanes. The Duke of Parma goeth the seconde time into Fraunce, and preuaileth greatly against the King. The Leaguers seeke for peace. The King encline to Poperie. His coronation. Paris with most of the great Citties of Fraunce turne to the King.*

*The princes,  
Nobles, and  
souldiers take  
their oath of  
obedience to  
Henry the  
fourth.*



Immediately after the death of *Henrie the third*, *Henrie of Bur-*  
*lon King of Navarre*, and the true inheritour to the Crowne  
of *Fraunce*, both by his owne right, and by the last will and te-  
stament of the late King, was proclaimed King of *Fraunce*, by  
the name of King *Henrie the fourth*, and so acknowledged by  
all the Princes, Nobles, Colonels, Captaines and souldiours in  
the Campe, after the ancient maner of choosing the *Romane*  
Emperors, giuing him their oaths of fidelitie and obedience, with protestation  
to assist him to maintaine his royall and princely authoritie against all traitours,  
rebels, and leaguers, to the uttermost of their powers. The Prince *Montpensier*,  
being then at *Audly*, a towne vpon the Riuier of *Seyne*, caused likewise all his ar-  
my to take the like oath, exhorting them to defend constantly the late kings wil,  
and valiantly to oppose theselues against all seditious persons, & despisers of gods  
lawfull ordinance, traitors to their King, & sworne enemies to their own country.

*The French  
King retreateth  
toward Nor-  
man de.*

This *Henry of Bourbon King of Navarre*, and now the French king (and so here-  
after he shall be termed) considering the strength of his open enemies, and sea-  
ring the treacherie of many in the Campe, who were deuoted to the league,  
knowing that they might be a meanes to distresse him, beeing so neare vnto a  
great number of his euill willers, who were likely to double their rage, by rea-  
son of this exploit done vpon the late Kings person, thought good to licence so  
many as he suspected, to depart the campe, and determined to retire with the  
rest into *Normandie*, somewhat further from his enemies, and to gather as great  
a power as hee could of his trustiest, and most assured friends, and in the meane  
time, to view the attempts and preparations of the Leaguers.

*The armie  
of the D. de  
Maine.*

The *D. de Maine*, besides all the bands which he had collected of the French  
rebels, receyued certaine Swart Ritters vnder the leading of the Duke of *Brim-*  
*swicke*. The Duke of *Lorraine* sent his sonne likewise called the Marques of *Pont*,  
with certaine companies of horsemen with this great armie, which amounted  
to the number of 25000. men. The Duke *de Maine* marched towards *Deep*, where  
the King lay with some nine or ten thousand men: who vnderstanding of the  
approach of the enemy, tooke the field with those forces which he had, and en-  
camped at *Arques*, about two miles frō *Deepe*, where he stayed not long, but that  
the enemy appeared in sight at a village not far off, called *Martinslieze*. The king  
sent out forthwith his light horsemē to discouer, between whō & the forerunners  
of



of the Leaguers, there were many hot skirmishes. On the 19. day of September the enemy passed over a little river which ranne betwene both Armies, and put himselfe in battaile array very well ordered & strongly appointed. and marched directly towards the king. The Lord *Billing* with two thousande shot was appointed to charge first, and the Duke de *Maine* stood behinde him, with a strong battaile readie to succour as need required. The king had quickly ordered his battailon, & hauing disposed of all things in as warlike maner as he could deuise, sent forth his light horsemen to charge the enemy, who were backed with the Prince of *Conde*, led by the Lord *Montaret*. His battailon of footemen was flanked with his owne cornet, wherein were the Lord *Grand Pryor* of *France*, the Count *Rochefancon*, the Count *Rossy* his brother, the Count *Rochford*, with diuers other Gentlemen of great reckoning, and such as were neerest about his person: and hauing called vpon God to ayde him in his iust and righteous quarrell, so furiously charged the enemy, that hee left fife hundred dead vpon the place at that instant. The rest seeing the slaughter of their fellowes, and the furie of the kings souldiers, began to shrink, and in a short time to flie away in great feare and disorder.

The Principall men of the Leaguers which were slain, were the Lord *Saint Andrew Sagne*, Collonell of the light horsemen, the Lord *Saint Vidal* Lieutenant of the Ordinance, the Lord *Vienusle*, Count *Billing*, *Temblecourt*, *Sanelak*, and diuers others were taken prisoners. The king lost the Count *Rossy*, brother to *Rochefancon*, and the Lord *Bakeville* a Gentleman of very worthy and commendable parts, and not past some thirtie or fortie others.

The Duke de *Maine* seeing his bad lucke, retired his beaten troupestowards *Picardy*: the king being strengthened with the forces of the Prince of *Soysons*, Duke *Languille*, and Marechall *Hautmont*, besides foure thousand Englishmen newly sent him out of *England*, vnder the leading of the right noble and valiant Lord *VVillowby*: departed from *Deepe*, & coasted the enemy, til he came to *Menlan* and then returned toward *Paris*, supposing that by that meanes hee should draw the Duke to follow him, and so bring him to a battaile. The King comming to *Paris* about the 23. of October, determined to assault the suburbs, and hauing prepared all things in a readinesse for that purpose, assailed them the first of Nouember following: where hee founde some resistance, but the courage of the Souldiers redoubled with the presence of the Prince, was such that they quickly gayned them, and slew about a thousand and fife hundred of their enemies: there were also taken fourteene ensignes, and thirteene peeces of Ordinance. The king seeing the Leaguers attempted nothing but that they kept themselves close within the Walls, albeit the Duke de *Maine* was entred within the Citie with all his forces, being mooued with sundrie waightie causes, resolved to dislodge, and to employ his forces in some other places. Hee was no sooner departed, but that the Duke de *Maine* picked a quarrell against diuers of the richest Citizens, charging them that they had conspired against the holy League, and procured the King to come to *Paris*, which promised to deliuer the Citie into his hands, whereupon many were condemned and executed, and their goods seised to the vse of the League.

The King marched with all his power towards the *Loyre* and *Seyne*, purposing

ling to redeeme the Townes which lay betweene those two riuers vnder his obedience, and in his way tooke *Eslamps*, *Iannille*, *Chasseaudune*, *Vendosme*, *Lauerdin*, *Chasteau de Loyre*, *Monteuert*, *Chere* and *Montrichard*, yeelded of their owne accord. The strong towne of *Mans* was taken by composition, *Sablé*, *Laval*, *Chastellier*, with the Castles of *Beaumont*, *Tououy*, and *Alençon*, with manie other places of importance, were likewise yeelded vnto the king, so that in a short space hee had gotten very great number of strong Townes, Castles, and Cities, yea, very large and mightie prouinces, out of the hands of the turbulent and seditious Leaguers. The Lord *Diguieres* likewise ioyning with the Lorde *Valette*, brother to the Duke of *Esperron*, preuailed mightily in *Prouince* & *Languedock*, and brought the greatest parte of those Countreyes vnder the kings obedience.

The Duke  
de Maine  
receiueth  
Money from  
the Pope and  
the King of  
Spaine.

The Duke de Maine lay all this while in *Paris*, and did nothing vntill the coming of the Popes Legate called *Hemico Caetano*, but then hee beganne to stir beeing animated by this Embassador, who brought with him fiftie thousande Duckets from *Rome*: hee also receiued three hundred thousand Crownes from the Spaniard, and by an excessive taxe imposed vpon the Parisians, with the spoyle and haucke which was made vpon the Royals and richest marchants: hee got aboute a Million of golde, with which and the rest of his exhibition from *Rome* and *Spaine*, he furnished his Army with all necessities, and leauing *Paris* went forth to seeke the king, hauing in his armie three thousand horse, and thirtie thousand footmen. Hee tooke by the way the Castle of *Viennes*, and in the latter ende of Ianuarie got *Ponthois*, from whence he remoued, and planted his siege before *Meulan*.

The Duke  
of Parma  
sendeth for  
the Duke de  
Maine.

The Duke of *Parma* sent the Count *Egmond*, and the Lord *La Motte*, gouernor of *Graveling*, with some fiftie or sixethousand chosen Souldiers to the ayde of the Leaguers. The Duke de Maine receiued them in *Picardy*, and ioyning them with the rest of his forces, marched towards *Dammartin*, drawing neere vnto the king, who was then at siege before *Dreux*. The King was no sooner aduertised heereof, but that hee raysed his siege, and hasted toward *Tury*, where he supposed that the Duke with all his forces had beene lodged, and comming to a place neere vnto the Towne called *Saint Andrees plaine*, he ordered his battailes, deuiding all his horsemen into seven squadrons, flanking them very strongly with their seuerall battailons of footmen, euerie one with their *Enfans Perdus* in theyr front, readie to attach the skirmish as soone as the enemy should appeare. The first Squadron was led by the Marechall *Anlmont*, wherein was three hundred horse, and twelue Regiments of French footmen. The Prince *Montpensier* led the second, which consisted of three hundred horse and foure hundred Lanquenets, and a Regiment of Switzers. The third beeing diuided into two companies containing foure hundred light horse, were somewhat further aduanced then the former two, and were led by the Lord *Graund Pryor*, the lord *Guymy*. The Baron of *Biron* commanded ouer the fourth wherein were two hundred and fiftie good horses, with certaine Cornets of light horsemen. In the fift was the king himself with six hundred horse, flanked on each side with foure Regiments of Switzers. The sixt was led by the Marechall *Biron*, with two hundred and fiftie horses, and two Regiments of French

The King's  
battailes.



French footmen. The seauenth squadron was a great Hot of Ritters, strengthened with French footmen as was vſed in other batailles.

The Duke de *Maine* reſolving to trie his fortune at that preſent, ſet likewiſe his forces in bataille array, and taking his Cornet conſiſting of ſome two hundred and ſitie horſes, put himſelfe in the middeſt of two ſquadrons of Launces, which came out of the low countreyes, wherein were ſometwelue or thirteene hundred horſe. The Duke of *Nemours* with other two hundred and fifty horſe, & the Cheualier D' *Aumaille* with his band of horſe, incorporated themſelues with this huge companie of Launces, containing now in al, ſome thouſand eight hundred horſemen, marching in front they were flanked alſo with two Regiments of Switzers, lyned with French ſhot. There were two other ſquadrons of Launces, the one compounded of French, Italians, & Albaneſes, the other of Wallons and Spaniards, and betweene them both a ſtrong battillon of French enſantery and Lanſquenets, who had on their right wing ſeauen hundred Ritters, and on the left wing ſiue hundred, with foure Culuerings.

All things beeing thus ordered, and both armies in a readineſſe for a generall fight, the great Ordenance began to thunder on both ſides: the fury whereof being once paſt, the horſemen and footmen charged each other couragiously, and mainrained a cruell and bloody fight for a long time, but at length the victorie enclined to the King, and the whole power of the Duke was overthrowne. The King himſelfe that day fought valiantly, and performed both the dutie of a prudent capitaine and a couragious and hardy Souldier. There were ſlaine very neere two thouſande horſemen of the enemies, and many of them commanders. Some twelue or thirteene hundred were drowned in the Riuer of *Tury*: the moſt part of the footmen were cutte in peeces, and aboue foure hundred were taken priſoners: al the Switzers yeelded to the kings mercy: the Duke de *Maine* ranne away with the formoſt, leauing his friendes to the mercie of their enemies, and loſt all his Ordenance and munition: the Duke of *Nemours*, *Baſſampierre*, *Tauannes*, *Rofue*, and many others, fled to *Dreux*: the cheeſt that was ſlaine was the Count *Egmond*, knight of the order of the golden Fleece, and the general ouer the forces ſent from the Duke of *Parma* out of the low countreyes: the yong Count of *Brunſwick*, capitaine *Collin* a Spaniard, and the Lord of *Chaſtaneray*: the Principall priſoners were the Lord *Auſſfriſt*, with many other Italian and Spaniſh Lords, the Lord *Boyslauphin*, who bare the white Cornet of the Duke de *Maine*, was likewiſe taken priſoner, and with him, *Fontaine*, *Martell*, *Lechant*, and many other Gentlemen of good account.

On the kings ſide there were ſlaine the Lord *Clermont*, *Autraigne*, one of the Captaines of the kings guard, the Lord *Tiſhcombert*, *Lungannay*, *Crenay*, *Pienne*, *Mauuille*, *Fequiers*, with ſome other twenty or thirtie Gentlemen at the moſt. The Marqueſſe of *Neſte*, the Earle *Choſſy*, the Lord de *O*, the Count *Lud*, the Lords *Moulenet*, *Lauergue*, *Rofne*, and many others were hurt, but not in danger of death: and this was the ende of this great bataille, fought in the plaine of *Saint Andrew*, the fourth of March, 1590.

The ſame of this glorious victorie ouer the Leaguers ſo terrified ſundrie Townes,

The Duke de Maine bataille.

The Duke de Maine overthrown in the plaine of Saint Andrew.

The Parisians  
prepare  
to endure a  
siege.

townes, that they yeelded forthwith, and lent to craue pardon for their former offences. *Mante, Vernon, Gressy, Layny, Roissy, Saint Germaine, and Saint Clow,* were the first that were drawn to their due obedience, by whose examples sundrie others were easily reclaimed and yeelded vppon their first sommance: the king beeing glad of this fortunate successe, resolved to besiege *Paris*: whereof when as the Parisians were enformed, as also of the ouerthrowe of the Duke de *Maine*, they were maruailously affrighted, and the rather for that they had promised themselves an assured victorie, grounding vppon the Dukes proude bragges, and the fantasticall prophesies of sundrie seditious Friers, and had nor the Duke *Hemico Casetane* the Popes Nuntio, and *Barnardine Mendoza* scattered good store of Crownes among the Iesuites and such frierlike fellowes, who should with theyr seditious Sermons encourage the people to persist in theyr rebellious actions, and corrupted the principall inhabitants with money and fayre promises: the Parisians hadde in that conseruation of minde come to aske pardon as well as others: but they beeing seduced by their chieftaines and ringleaders, beganne to bethinke them howe to fortifie their Cities, and to make themselves able to endure a siege.

The Duke  
de Maine  
goeth to  
Bruxelles to  
the Duke of  
Parma for  
ayde.

S. Dennis,  
yeeldeth to  
the King.

Great famine  
in Paris.

The king seeing their obstinacy, followed his course, and knowing the Citie to bee very populous, and nothing well provided for so many moneths, determined to take all the passages, and to blocke in the Parisians so sure, that they should come by no victuals, making choise to vanquish them rather by famine then by the sword, as the safest way to punish his enemies, and to saue his friends. Hee therefore seized vppon all the stronge Townes about the Citie, as *Corbeil, Melun, Montreuil, Fosse, and Charenton*, and stopping the Riuer of *Oyse, Marne, Tonne, and Seyne*, would not suffer any prouision to bee conuayed into the Citie. Whereupon there beganne to grow great scarcenesse, and a sore famine threatened that rebellious multitude. The Duke de *Maine* was gone into *Petonne* in *Picardy*, and from thence to *Bruxelles*, to the Duke of *Parma*, to entreate him to come to the succours of the League and vnto all the other meanes hee could to leuie newe forces: and hauing had some promises from *Spain*, assured himselfe of ayd out of the low Countreyes, wherewith he should be once againe able to meete the king, who all this while lay before *Paris*, and attempted nothing but onely to keepe it from victuals, and by that meanes had so famished the towne of *S. Dennis*, that after that they had consumed all their old store, and had eaten vp their horses, dogs, cats, rats, mice, rootes, hearbs, & much bread made of ground straw beaten to powder, they were enforced to yeeld to the kings mercy, who vsed them very graciously. Penury and want likewise so pressed the Citie of *Paris*, that by the beginning of Iuly there were no dainties to be found in the Citie, but the Parisians were glad to fall to such homely viands, as not long before had serued for a dish at *S. Dennis*. Yea, so great and so horrible was the famine, that there were many children eaten and deuoured by those hungry and staruen rebelles.

When the Duke de *Maine* who was still attending vppon the Duke of *Parma*, was aduertised of the great and extreme penury that was among the Parisians, as also of the vprores and murderings of the people, hee wrote letters

full



full of rich promises, assuring them of the coming of the Duke of *Parma* and himselfe, with a sufficient number to raise the siege. The miserable people oppressed with the tyrannie of their rulers, hardened with seditious sermons, blinded with ignorance, seduced with malice, and sed with much villanie from *Spaine*, from the Pope, and from this Duke, and by Gods iust iudgement given over to a reprobate sense, held out obstinately, and would by no perswasions be enduced to submit themselves vnto the Kings mercie.

The hope that the Spaniard had to conquer *France*, and to cloath himselfe with the rich spoyle of the *Flower de Lis*, made the Duke of *Parma* to giue better care to the Duke de *Maine*, and to hearken to the succours of the distressed Leaguers, so that hauing gathered a power of some 15000. Spaniards, Italians, Wallons, and Flemmings, all of the olde bands of the countrey: in the latter ende of August hee entred into *France*, and ioyning with the forces of the Duke de *Maine*, marched towards *Paris*. The King hauing to deale with so great an enemy, brake vp his siege and went to meete him as farre as the plaine of *Bouandy*, and there ordered his battailes, & made himselfe readie to end the quarrell by a generall fight: the Kings army consisted of 10000. French footmen; 4000. Switzers, 4000. horsemen, the greatest number wherof were gentlemen of the cheefest houses in *France*, and 800. Ritters: there were sixe Princes, two Marechalles of *France*, and a great number of noble men, capitaines, and Gentlemen, who were able to leade as great an armie as that was. The Duke of *Parma* hauing discouered all his warlike multitude from the top of a hill, returned to his campe, and caused his souldiers to entrench themselves as strongly as they could, and refused to fight, albeit the king staid for him by the space of three daies together: but afterward perceiuing that the Duke would not be drawen to a battaile by no meanes, hee determined to breake vp his armie, and to sende his souldiers into seuerall prouinces to rest and relieue them after so painfull and laborious a iourney, and so to make them fresh and lustie against hee should haue better opportunitie to fight against his enemies.

As soone as the king was departed wel neere twenty Leagues off, and that he had denided his forces by sending them into seuerall places, the Duke gat him out of the trenches & hasted to *Paris*, where he was welcomed with great ioy: but he had not continued there long, but the tyrannie, pride, and villany of the Spaniard and hispaniolized was such, that the Parisians waxed weary of that intollerable burthen, & would faine haue bin rid of them and they had wist how, they therfore entreated the duke to open the riuer for the traffick, which he promised, & vndertooke the siege of *Corbaile*, which, after 3. assaults wherein he lost a great nuber of his best & most approued souldiers, he took by force, & shewed all crueltie vpon the inhabitants. He made the Parisians beleue that he would go from thence to take *Poyssy*, *Meulan*, *Maule*, *Vernon*, & *Pont del Arch*: but indeed he was not so good as his word, for he did nothing of al this, but trifled out the time, & fed the citizens with faire words vntil the latter end of October, and then marched homeward through *Brie*, being followed hard at the heeles, by the king and those smal forces which he could raise vpon the sodain, as far as *L'Arbre de Guyze*, where he entred into the low countreyes with not

past some 8000. of all that companie wherewith hee had entred into *France*.

After

The Duke  
of Parma en  
treth into  
France.

The Duke  
of Parma res  
fuseth to  
fight.

The Duke  
of Parma en  
treth into  
Paris.

The Duke  
of Parma  
thret out of  
France.

*Chartres  
taken by the  
the king.*

After that the Duke of *Parma* was gotten into the low Countreyes, the king hauing gathered al his forces together marched toward *Chartres*, which he besieged, and after many sharpe assaults tooke it, and brought it vnder his obedience, hee tooke also *Almeau, Macheuille, Dourdan, Bonfery, Clay, Trumblay, Manican, Ginlis*, and so scoured al the part of *Picardy*, that noemie durst once shew his face, and from thence passed into *Britaine*, where hee defeated the Lorde *Saint Lawrence*, Marechall of the Armie of the rebels vnder Duke *Mercury*, and surprised *Louuiers*, where hee found great store of Corne, Wine, and all other necessarie prouision, besides foure thousand fat Oxen, wherewith hee plentifully victualled his army for many dayes.

*Cingcens  
taken.*

About the same time the Lord *Chartres*, gouernour for the King in *Deepe*, and Sir *Roger Williams* a very couragious and well experienced English knight, with their English & French forces, amounting to some seauen hundred men, defeated two regiments of the Leaguers at a place called *Cingcens*, and put them in a maner all to the sword. The Prince *Conry* tooke *Mount Morillon, Chaigny, S. Sauin, Blankenbury, Bourge, Archambault, Playfance, Bellarbre, Auailes, Besonne, Bisse*, and many other forts and Castles in *Limosin* and *Toureyne*. The Prince *D'Ombs* accompanied with the valiant, fortunate, and noble Gentleman Sir *Iohn Norris*, general of such forces as were sent out of *England* for the ayde of the King into *Britaine*, tooke *Guingcampes*, where there were a great number of the Nobilitie and Gentlemen of the Countrey, who with the Towne payed fiftie thousande Crownes for their Ransome, and tooke the oath of Obedience to the king: and passing from thence to *Quelne*, encountred with the Duke *Mercuria* principall Leaguer, who at the first shewed a countenance as though he would haue tryed the quarrell by an entire fight: but after the losse of some two or three hundred Spanish and French Leaguers, with *Don Roderigo*, cheefe Marechall of the Spaniards, and the Lord *Guebrian* Collonel of all the footmen, he retired further off to places of greater securitie.

*Noyon taken.*

The king was now at the siege of *Noyon*, which in the ende yeelded vpon composition, and the Lord *Vile* submitted himselfe to the king, and had leaue to depart whither hee would: the Leaguers seeing the kings fortunate successe, fearing that all in the ende would yeeld vnto him, procured a newe excommunication from *Rome* against him and all his faithfull subiects, and caused it to be published at *Pont del Arch* in *Normandy*, by *Marcellus Landrianus*, a saucie and malepert Iesuite: but the king beeing advertised hereof, commanded his Court of Parlcament holden at *Cane* to proccede against Pope *Gregory* the fourteenth, who sent it, and his *Nuntio* that brought it, as against tyrannes, conspirators with rebels, perturbors of the State, sowers of sedition, and the common and notorious enemies of GOD and all goodnesse, and taking the

*The Popes  
excommunicati-  
on against the  
King.*

*The Popes  
Bull hanged  
vpon the  
gallowes and  
burned at  
Tours.*

Popes Bull, caused it to bee fastned to a gibbet at *Tours*, by the common hangman of the towne, and to bee consumed to ashes, to the great reioycing of all the beholders.

The King vnderstanding that the right honourable Lord the Earle of *Essex* was nowe arrived in *France* with a bande of very brave men, and was marching towards him, went to meete the saide Earle at a place called *Gyfors*, where hee remained not long, but returned towards *Champaigne*, for that hee vnder-



vnderstood that his *Germanes* were nowe in a readinesse to march on for-  
wards on their waie towards *France*. In the meane while the English forces  
tooke the towne of *Gourmy*, and ioyning with the *Mareschal Biron*, distressed the *Gourmy was*  
*Leaguers* in those quarters. *taken by the*

Much about this time the Prince *Jennille* sonne to *Francis* late Duke of *Guyse*,  
escaped out of prison at *Tours*, where hee had beene kept for the space of three  
yeeres and more, and hauing the waies layde with fresh horse by the counsell  
of the Lord *Dela Chastre*, his kinman got safely to *Selles*, and from thence to  
*Verdun*, where hee was most ioyfully receiued of all the *Leaguers*, who had  
attended his comming with great deuotion, and were exceeding glad that  
they had recovered him, by whose means they imagined the better to counte-  
nance their actions, and to effect their intended purpose. Howbeit, this their  
ioy was soorthwith crossed by the comming of the *Germanes*, who were al-  
ready entred into *France*, and hasted to the succors of the king. *The young*  
*D. of Guise*  
*escaped out*  
*of prison,*

This great and mightie Armie wherein were some two or three and *The armie of*  
twenty thousand footmen and horsemen, was diuided into sundry battailons, *the German*  
and led by theyr seuerall chieftaines and commaunders. The Vicont of *Tu-*  
*rennes* conducted the Vauingard, wherein were some 1600. horse, next whom  
followed the Earle of *Amboise*, cheefe commaunder in the Armie, with two  
thousand and two hundred horse. The third place was allotted to *Barbisdorfe*,  
with a squadron of some 1000. horse. *Iselstenius* & the Lieutenant of the Lorde  
*Robours*, led 8. or 900. footmen. *Creighnicht*, *Bernhard*, *Dessaw*, and *Bonnaw*, had  
their seuerall regiments, & each consisted of a 1000. horse. The Lord *Landins* and  
the Earle of *Vuide* had vnder their leading 6400. footmen, equally diuided in-  
to two great squadrons, which were flanked as it were with another strong  
battailon, wherein were about 4300. footmen, and 200. horse, led by *Tem-*  
*pluys* and the Earle of *Vuide*. *Christopher de Fesler* with 300. footmen, serued as a  
wing on the left hand, betweene whom and the Earle of *Vuide* was the yong  
Earle of *Vvestenberg* with 3400. footmen: there was also maruailous store of  
all warlike munition, as great Artillerie, powder, shotte, bridges, boats,  
spades, shouelles, pickaxes, and all other necessaries for the warres, and no-  
thing wanting which was requisite for the aduancement of their affaires:  
The Duke of *Lorraine* made al the preparation that might be to stop the passage  
of these *Germanes*, and to that ende stuffed all his frontier townes with strong  
garrisons: but they opening their way by force, passed forwards, and by easie  
iourneyes came to the king, who beeing strenghened with these new forces,  
resolved to besiege *Roan*. The *Leaguers* being now not able to encounter with  
the king in the field, fortified the Citie as strong as they could, and attended the  
comming of the Duke of *Parma*, whose ayde they had instantly desired, the bet-  
ter to maintaine head against the king.

The Duke vnderstanding in what tearmes the *Leaguers* stood, & knowing  
that the losse of *Roan*, being a principall Citie in *France*, and the cheefest in *Nor-*  
*mandy*, would be very preiudicial vnto that mistery, which lay secretly enclosed  
in his brest, and a great meanes to crosse the proceedings of the Spanish king, &  
hispaniolized French, gathered a great power, and leauing the gouernement of  
the Low countreyes to the Count *Manfford*, marched towards *France*, which *France.*

1592  
The duke of  
Parma goeth  
the second  
time into  
France.

he entred about the midst of Ianuary with some 8. or 9000. Spaniards, Italians, Duch, Wallons, & ioyning with the Leaguers so encreased his armie, that he grew to besome 17. or 18000 strong, with which power he determined to raise the Kings siege, & to deliuer the who had with so great earnestnesse sought his helpe, and with this resolution he marched towards *Roan*, which as soone as those who kept the town vnderstood, they began to plucke vp their hearts, and made many sallies forth vpon the kings forces: but being valiantly withstood & shrewdly beaten, were glad to returne with the losse oftentimes of their valiantest leaders and most forward souldiers. Nowe as the Leaguers within the town begā to be punished with many miseries, & the famine daily encreased to the destruction of many: so penury and want of necessaries began to creepe in among the kings souldiers, and by reason it was in the extreme of the Winter, many perished with cold, and great numbers fel into very sore & greuous diseases: notwithstanding, the siege was still continued, and all the politike deuises that might be put in practise to gaine the citie. The Duke being about *Rue*, and therethorowly enformed as wel of the state of *Roan*, as of the courage & resolution of the kings forces, would not attempt any thing rashly, but sending for greater forces out of *Flanders*, vnder the conduct of the Earles of *Arenberg* and *Barlemont*, kept himself close for a while, purposing as it seemed, to protract the time, & to cause the K. who (as is already said) began to fal into manifold wāts, to raise his siege from before the city: but the Duke perceiuing that this depose took not so speedie effect as he desired, & pondering with himself how hard & dangerous a matter it was to releue the citie by force, sought by a cunning & politike deuise to bring his businesse about, and therefore on the sodaine dislodged, & retired his whole power ouer the River of *Saone*, as though he had purposed to returne home again without any more ado. Which when the king perceiued, and now verily thinking that hee had bin quite gone, he licensed the greatest part of his Nobilitie and Gentlemen to departe home to their houses, there to refresh themselves after so long & tedious trauaile, & reseruing a sufficient number to maintaine the siege, the K. departed to *Depe* there to repose himselfe and to take counsell for the ordering of the rest of his affaires.

The politike  
deuise of the  
Duke.

The Duke  
returneth so  
wards *Roan*.

*Roan* releued  
by the  
Duke of  
*Parma*.

The Duke was quickly enformed by his espialles of whatsoener the king had done, and knowing now that all his aduantage consisted in, celeritie caused his troupes on the sodaine to turne head and to march backe againe towards *Roan*, and vying great expedition, so fast approached, that the kings armie being not ready yet to encounter him, and no assured course taken to crosse his designements, he besieged *Candebeck*, a town standing vpon the river betweene *Newhausen* & *Roan*. By this meanes was the river cleared, & liberty obtained to passe and repasse without peril: then were there sent forth with a great number of ships provided, & being thorowly furnished with victuals and all other necessaries, were sent to *Roan* to releue the Leaguers who were nowe extremely distressed and almost famished. The King sought all the opportunitie that might be to fight with the Duke, and offered many skirmishes to drawe him thereto, but hee knowing fortune to bee very inconstant, and in the warres especially to bee most wauering and vncertaine, vterly refused to hazard all vpon a Battaille, and vnderstanding that there was some scarcitie



in the kings campe, and that it was impossible that so great a multitude should be long kept together in a Countrey so exceedingly wasted, where there were no meanes to relieue their wants, kept himselfe close, and sought to wearie his enemies by his long delaies.

The K. daily braued the Spaniards in the face, & dared them by many indignities to come to handy strokes: which made the Duke resolute to do somewhat, albeit he were sickly and most vnwilling to fight, supposing that if hee should not stirre vpon so many prouocations, his enemies would waxe more courageous, and himselfe with all his Spaniards should lose much of their wonted honor & reputation. Whereupon he determined to encounter with the kings forces, and to make some triall of the courage and resolution of his enemies: yet so warily, that he would be sure not to bring himselfe and his souldiers to a set battell, but by some light conflict to maintain his honor: and by a Spanish brauado, to make the world beleue, that hee did but little esteeme of the king, and all his forces. Whereupon euery thing being in a readinesse, and hauing encouraged his troupes with sundry perswasions, the signall was no sooner giuen, but there began a sharpe and cruel fight, which hastened the death of many braue and valiant souldiers. But the Duke espying the Kings side to be too strong, and that his men were put to the worse, withdrewe his troupes within their intrenchments, hauing lost the yong Lord of *Chastres*, and many other of great reckoning and account. The dukes horse was shot through with a bullet. The Count *Herratio*, *Scipio*, and *Hanniball Bentinolio*, with many others were sore wounded and in daunger of their liues. The Duke not liking to trie the quarell any more by force, fell to his old politike practises, and laboured by all possible meanes to get away away from the king without any further fighting. Wherefore leauing a garrison of some 500 Spaniards, French and Wallons in *Caudebecke*, and sending the Duke de *Maine* with 3000. Leaguers into *Roan*, hee reposing himselfe for a while within the Citie, at length marched away, as strongly and as closely as he could towarde *Paris*, there to refresh them after so long and tedious trauailes: as also to make tryall what store of Crownes might be gotten to satisfie his greedy Souldiers. The King pursued him, and following him in the taile, watched to skirmish with him vpon euerie aduantage. But seeing hee could not effect that, which hee so earnestly affected, which was to drawe him to an entyre fight: hee caused all his troupes to turne heade, and ledde them before *Caudebecke*, which he forthwith recovered from the Leaguers, and leauing a strong garrison to defende the Riuer, he retyred to *Deepe*, giving leaue to the greatest part of his army to go refresh themselves in more fertile and commodious Countreys.

Thus was *Roan* deliuered out of the hands of the King, by the comming of the duke to the great encouragement of the Leaguers, who seeing the Kings fortune to frowne, began to triumph, and to reioyce exceedingly for this their vnexpected reliefe: and the rather for that this their good hap was seconded by diuerse other fortunate exploits in other places: for the Duke *Joyense* ouerthrew certaine of the Kings troupes before *Lautrech*, as they went to surprise the sayd towne, being betrayed by some of those, who had promised them to be a meanes to let them enter without anie empeachment. But they vsing this

The Duke  
would not be  
drawne to an  
entyre fight.

The duke de  
Maine was  
sent to  
Roan.

The Duke  
of  
Parma  
marched  
toward  
Paris.

The King  
went to  
Deepe.

*The leaguers  
ouerthrow  
sundry of the  
Kings forces.*

as a stratagem to entrap the Kings souldiours, enformed the Duke of all their proceedings: who as soone as hee had intelligence thereof, gathered a strong power, and lying in ambush by the way as they shoulde passe, suddenly let vpon them, and slue three or foure hundred, and tooke 200. prisoners: among whom were *Monsieur de Violet, de Godus*, & sundry others of very good account. Three hundred fled to a castell not farre off, called *la Trappe*, which was forthwith besieged by the said Duke, and the leaguers: they who were within the castell valiantly defended the place for a while, induring some thirtie or sortie Cannon shot at length considering their want of necessaries, & how they were not able to maintaine themselves as they desired, they yeelded, hauing lost *Colambieres, Tanienuse, L'estolies, Raneleus, Bertrand, Deluan, Biense, de Lucques, La Brosse, L'espinae*, and many other chieftains and commanders. *La Barry, Portalesse, Pibrac*, besides, sundry gentlemen were taken prisoners, and well neare two hundred common souldiers. About the sametime Duke *Mercury* likewise ouerthrew the power of the prince of *Conty*, & the prince *D'Ombes* in *Britany*: and hauing taken ten field peeces from them, slue many of their brauest and valiantest men, as *Membaise, Rochpot, Picheres*, with some others, preuailing mightily in those quarters, and reducing sundry townes vnder the obedience of the seditious league. Thus did the Kings affaires begin to go backward, and many townes who were wauiing before, did nowe wholly abandon the King, and ioynewith the rebels. Sundry of the nobilitie, who were popishly affected, and therefore glad of the Kings bad successe, reuolted, and secretly conueyed themselves away, either to the enemy, or into their owne countries, and by their bad example, drew on infinite numbers to take the same course, forsaking their lawfull prince when hee stood in greatest need of their seruice, exposing that noble kingdome to the barbarous villanie of that viperous broode, who neuer cease gnawing out of the bowels of her, that should be their dearest and best beloued mother.

*Mareschall  
Biron slaine.*

*The danger  
of the King.*

The King wanting sufficient power to stop these wicked proceedings, was forced to suffer the rebels to range at large, and to get many of his townes, both in *Normandy, Britany, Prouince, and Dauphiny*: They took likewise *Espernon*: wherein they found great store of wine, come, & other necessaries for the wars. These fortunate exploits so encouraged that rebellious route, and so puffed them vp with the pride of their owne forces, that they vtterly refused to bow their necks vnder the yoke of obedience: or to admit of any other gouernment then such as pleased themselves. The king was loath to loose *Espernon*, being a towne of verie good importance, and therefore drew all his forces to the siege thereof, where the Mareschall *Biron* was slaine with a shot from the wall, while hee was verie busie in viewing the army, & in giuing order for the planting of the siege. Yea, and the king himself was in great perill, hauing his horse killed vnder him with the same bullet, wherewith the Mareschall was slaine before. Duke *Mercurie* in the meane time tooke *Manus* in *Britany*, and the duke of *Maine* recouered *Candebecke*, and cleared all the riuer from *New-hanen* vpto *Roan*. The D. of *Nemours*, gouernor of *Lions*, took *Vienna* and *Valence*, and by that means comanded the riuer of *Rhodanus*. Now were the Germans who came into *France* in 91. desirous to returne home: so that taking their leaue of the French K. they marched toward *Germany* as fast as they could: but by reason they were not so many, nor so strong



as when they came first into *France*, they were desirous to passe rather by leaue then by force, and therefore they thought it conuenient to send to the Duke of *Parma* for to obtaine License of him, that they might quietly passe through the Dukedom of *Luxemburgh*, who readily condiscended thereto, vpon condition that they should not rife the Countrey as they went, but should trauaile in peaceable manner, and pay for whatsoeuer they tooke. Thus this great and mightie Army which had in conceite deuoured halfe *France*, and at theyr comming had opened their way by fine force, returned home without dooing of anie great matter, and were driuen to aske leaue and to sue to their enemies for their passport, such and so strange an alteration ensued in a short space.

*The Ger-  
maines  
turne home.*

The Leaguers beeing drunken with this prosperous successe, began to consult about the election of a new King, and to that end the Duke of *Feria*, and the Cardinall of *Sens*, the Popes *Nuntio* were sent to *Paris* to bee present as assistants in this waightie businesse, as well to aide with their aduise and counsell, as to perswade with sundrie great states, who as yet were not fully resolved in this poynt, neyther whether they shoulde assent to so wicked and desperate proceedings.

*The Lea-  
guers con-  
sult about a  
new King.*

Now albeit that the rebellious multitude had prospered for a long time, and were growen in a maner to the ful period of their desires, having effected many things greatly tending to the countenancing of their affaires, in so much as that they had gayned the strongest & richest cities, with infinit numbers of turbulent and seditious heades to ioyne hand in hand with them, and to take parte in these their wicked and desperate attempts: yet, as it alwaies falleth out among such a confused and brainesicke rable, each mistrusted other, and being often admonished by the secret warnings of their owne consciences how damnable a course they had runne, as also considering the intollerable seruitude whereto they were likely to bring themselves and their posteritie if they should longer submit themselves to their Spanish protector, and likewise seriously pondering the kings estate, which was still supported by the cheefe Princes of the bloud, the ancient and most honourable Nobilitie of *France*, fauored by a number of valiant and wise personages, and countenanced by sundrie mightie Princes abroade, so that it still seemed to bee impossible to bring their purposes to passe, but rather that they should hazard their owne estates, their liues and liberties, yea, and in fine the whold kingdome, by calling in the Spaniards their olde and ancient enemies, who sought for nothing more then for the spoyle of the *Flower de Lis*. All these reasons with many other beeing well weighed, they supposed it to bee their best, to reconcile themselves to their king, of whole readie inclination to peace, though it were with hard conditions, they nothing doubted: wherupon they first priuily practised with sundry of the Papists which followed the king, whereof there were no small number, and hating by their meanes made as it were an entrie vnto their pretended purpose, they sent their deputies to treat of a peace for three moneths, whereto the king assented in July 1593. and afterwards continued the same for two moneths more, videlicet, vnto the ende of the moneth of December following: in all which time there was nothing doone, otherwise then the sending of sundrie messages each to other, with continual practising to draw the king to the liking

*The Lea-  
guers seek  
for peace.*

of

*The K. en-  
cline to  
Popery.*

of Poperie: wherein there was such paines taken, and so farre humane pollicie preuailed, that this noble and famous Prince who had for the space of foure or five and twentie yeeres so valiantly and fortunately defended the Gospell, and that with the hazard and perill of his owne life, freely exposing his royall person, his treasure, his friendes, and all other meanes whatsoeuer for the maintenance thereof, beganne to waxe calme in the defence of his profession, and to encline to that false and superstitious Religion of *Rome*, to the high displeasure of almightie God, the great dishonour of his princely Maiestie, and to the extreme greefe and astonishment of all the Protestants. Thus this noble and renowned Monarke, the hope (as it were) of al that fauored Gods truth, whom God had beautified with so many excellent graces and notable vertues, as courage, wisdom, zeale, and constancy in so many apparant dangers, & had made him the protector and comforter of his afflicted church in *France*, had delivered him out of the hands of all his enemies, and had given him his Lords house (as the Prophet speaketh) and if that had beene too little, would have given him much more, making his proudest enemies to stoupe before him, and to the admiration and wonderment of all men continually protected him in despite of all those who sought his ruine and ouerthrow, is another argument of the mutabilitie and interchangeable estate of all things in the world, and that not onely the heauens, the earth, the sea, the beasts of the field, the fishes in the waters, and the foules of the ayre are full of varietie and change, but likewise kingdoms, countreyes, and commonwealths, Cities, and townes, all estates and conditions, of men high and low, rich and poore, wise and foolish, Prince and people, are full of change and alteration.

*Sundry pri-  
cipall Cities  
of France  
returne to  
the King.*

In Ianuarie and Februarie immediarly folowing the Kings so apparant inclination to Poperie, most of the principall Cities of *France* which had with so notorious obstinacy for a long while shaken off the yoake of their obedience, beganne to bee reclaimed, and as it were on the sodaine to bee arranged on the kings side, & *Meaux, Lyons, Orleans, Bourges, Pontoyse*, with many other townes of speciall monument & account opened their gates and willingly receiued the kings garrisons, crying *Vive Henri 4. roy de France & de Nauarre*, expelling the Spaniards and hispaniolised French, shewing great forwardnesse to withstande the outrageous proceedings of the furious and desperate Leaguers.

The king had no sooner reduced these strong Townes vnder his obedience, hauing by this meanes mightily strengthened himselfe and weakened his enemies, but that hee was forthwith aduised by the Princes of his blood, the dukes and peeres of *France*, the officers of his Crowne, the Lords of his Council, and the most notable personages of his courts of Parliaments, to frame himselfe to his coronation and annoynring, and that in such maner as all other kings his predecessor had done before him. Which said ceremonious order of anointing is accounted the euident token of their royaltie, and the publike approbation of the French nation. Whereto the King assenting as one now intending to obserue the ancient customs of his predecessors: it was resolved that this solemn ceremony should be performed at our ladies church at *Chartres*, for that the citie of *Rheims*, where for the most part the king of *France* had wont euermore to be crowned, still persisted in her rebellion, and banded her selfe with the kings enemies.



# OF FRANCE.

All things beeing in a readinesse for the solemnization of this royall and magnificent coronation, vpon the seuen and twentieday of Februarie 1594, the King came to the sayde Church, attended with a great number of Dukes, Princes, Earles, Lordes, and other States of *France*. And by reason that some of the twelue Peeres as yet helde out agaynst the King, and others were sicke, so that there wanted of the full and competent number to attend him, and to doo theyr seruice as the tyme then requyred, the King subrogated others in theyr steade to make vp the whole number, whose names were as followeth.

The 6 peeres ecclesiastical.	1 Bishop of <i>Chartres</i> .	Representing the	1 Archbishop of <i>Rhemes</i> , the first peere Ecclesiasticall.
	2 Bishop of <i>Nantes</i> .		2 The Bishop duke of <i>Laon</i> ,
	3 Bishop of <i>Digne</i> ,		3 Bishop duke of <i>Langres</i> ,
	4 Bishop of <i>Melleisais</i> ,		4 Bishop Count of <i>Beauvais</i> ,
	5 Bishop of <i>Orleans</i> ,		5 Bishop Count of <i>Chalons</i> ,
	6 Bishop <i>Angiers</i> .		6 Bishop Count of <i>Nayon</i> .
The 6 peeres temporall.	7 Prince of <i>Conny</i> ,	Representing the	7 Duke of <i>Burgundie</i> .
	8 Count <i>Soyssons</i> ,		8 Duke of <i>Normandie</i> ,
	9 Duke <i>Montpensier</i> ,		9 Duke of <i>Aquitaine</i> ,
	10 Duke of <i>Rays</i> ,		10 Count of <i>Tholous</i> ,
	11 Duke of <i>Fantadon</i> ,		11 Count of <i>Flanders</i> ,
	12 Lord of <i>Lupembourgo</i> ,		12 Count of <i>Champaigne</i> .

The King was crowned by the Bishop of *Chartres*, who for that day supplied the roome of the Archbishop of *Rhemes*, and enthronised him in his royall and Kingly seate, in such maner and order as the rest of the Kings his predecessors had beene accustomed in former times.

Now began the Kings authoritie to waxe great, and to enlarge it selfe every day more and more, and so farre it spread in a short time, after that it was receyued into the heart of all *France*: for the 20. of March following, *Paris* the Metropolitan Citie of the whole realme, which had continued in all kinde of rebellious disorder, and that for many yeres together, omitting no kind of outrage that could be imagined against her natural, and liege soueraignes, their crownes and dignities, by the vertuous and commendable industry of *Brissac*, was likewise reduced vnder the Kings obedience: who pardoning the inhabitants, so many and so monstrous offences, restored them to their auncient priuilegies, rights, grants, Franchises, and liberties, with the reestablishments of his courts of Parliament, and that in as large and ample manner as they had beene at anie time indued by any of the kings his predecessors, abrogating all lawes, decrees, statutes & ordinances, which had passed in preiudice of the, as appeareth by an Ediēt bearing date the 28 of March, 1594. So as neither the said inhabitants, nor any of them should from thenceforth be troubled, molested, or disquieted in any maner of sort for their former disobediences, imposing perpetuall silence heereof to his Attourneyes generall, and to all other persons whatsoever: commaun-

commaunding withall, all Dukes and Peeres of *France*, all Officers of the Crowne, all his Lieutenants and other Magistrates, to cause the same to be preclaymed and published in theyr seuerall iurisdicktions and resorts, with expresse charge, that the contents of the same should be inuiolably kept and obserued, to the end that if it were possible, the whole kingdome of *France*, which for a long time had endured so manie calamities, might nowe at length seele some ease and mitigation of former miseries, and the beaten barke of that distressed state, which had beene so daungerously tossed in a vast Ocean of all kind of affliction, might in the ende be brought to some desired haven of peace and quietnesse, and there be safely harboured, to the eternall glorie of God, the perpetuall honour of the King, and the continuall ioy and comfort of the whole Common-wealth.

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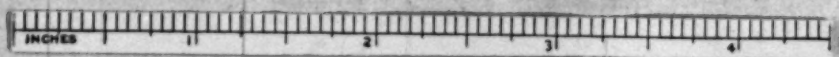
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